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AN INTRODUCTION
TO
LATIN TEXTUAL EMENDATION



NEW YORK

AN INTRODUCTION

TO

LATIN TEXTUAL EMENDATION

BASED ON THE TEXT OF PLAUTUS

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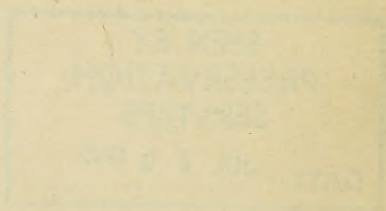
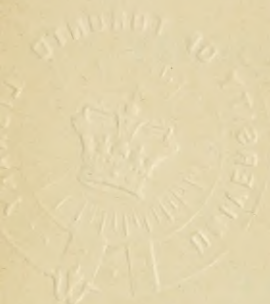
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PREFACE

THESE chapters, expanded from a recent course of Oxford lectures, will, I hope, do something to supply what I believe to be a real want. Textual emendation too often misses the mark through want of knowledge of what may be called "the rules of the game." Too often it seems as if the only resource that were known for emending a corrupt passage were to rewrite the sentence in capitals, with no division between the words, and then to look out for letters which may have been confused with others of similar form. The confusion of letters in minuscule script and the confusion of contractions, especially minuscule contractions, played an important part in the corruption of texts, but are seldom recognised to a corresponding extent in our attempts at emendation. All this I believe to be due to the absence of a satisfactory handbook on the subject. For Greek we have the excellent *Commentatio Palaeographica* of Bast—a book not so widely known, I fear, in this country as it deserves to be. But for

Latin I am not acquainted with any except Hagen's *Gradus ad Criticem*.

A handbook of the kind clearly should provide suitably long lists of examples; and these, I think it will be admitted, had best be taken, so far as possible, from the MSS of a single author. After hesitating for some time between Virgil and Plautus, I finally decided to take my lists from Plautus, for reasons that are stated in the introductory pages. I have occasionally added examples from Nonius Marcellus on this account:—In two of the oldest MSS of that author we are fortunate enough to possess an archetype (the Leyden codex) and a direct copy (the Laurentian), while two others (the Harleian and the Escorial) are direct copies of this copy; so that the course of corruption of words, which only lets itself be inferred in the texts of most authors, can in the case of Nonius be actually seen. In connexion with the variety of reading in Horace *C. i. 1. 7*, *mobilium* and *nobilium*, it is interesting to find the word *mobilem* of the parent MS miscopied as *nobilem* (see p. 76 of this handbook).

These lists of examples, along with other details which may be omitted by less advanced students, I have put in small type. In the portions in ordinary print examples, when available to me, have been taken by preference from more familiar authors—Virgil, Horace, and the like. This arrangement of the book in different sizes of type will, I hope, facilitate its use

in schools. Now that boys of the upper forms of our schools are required to know something of manuscript variants and modern scholars' emendations, it seems desirable that they should be provided with an elementary knowledge of the manner in which the classical texts have been transmitted to us and the dangers undergone in the course of transmission.

In the second Appendix I have made the experiment of simplifying and interpreting what is to many readers a mass of meaningless symbols, an *apparatus criticus*. In the third a few simple directions are given to any one making his first collation of a Latin MS.

I cannot conclude without an expression of gratitude to my friend, Mr. Falconer Madan, the University Lecturer on Mediaeval Palaeography, for the generous help which I have received from him in the preparation of this manual.

W. M. LINDSAY.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

To gain a knowledge of the method, aim, necessity, etc., of Textual Emendation the best books to read are :

MADVIG *Adversaria Critica*, 3 vols., Copenhagen 1871-4 (emendations of Latin and Greek authors) ;

COBET *Variae Lectiones*, Leyden² 1873 (emendations of Greek authors) ;

and the great critical editions of Latin classics, such as Ribbeck's Virgil, Keller and Holder's Horace, Lachmann's Lucretius, and the Ritschl Plautus, may be studied with advantage.

On the forms of letters in Latin MSS and other details of palaeography see :

THOMPSON *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (International Scientific Series), London 1893 ;

WATTENBACH *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*, Leipzig⁴ 1886 (3s.)

On the forms of abbreviations and contractions in Latin MSS :

CHASSANT *Dictionnaire des Abréviations*, Paris⁵ 1884 ;

or the larger and fuller :

WALTHER *Lexicon Diplomaticum*, Ulm 1756.

The best photographic facsimiles are the costly

Palaeographical Society's Publications, London 1873 *sqq.* (Greek and Latin) ;

and (especially useful for Latin Textual Emendation)

CHATELAIN *Paléographie des Classiques latins*, Paris 1884 *sqq.*
(10s. per number).

Cheaper is :

ARNDT *Schrifttafeln zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und zum
Selbstunterricht*, Berlin 1874 (9s.) (photolithograph).

To identify MSS according to their Latin designations, *e.g.* "codex
Montepessulanus," etc., the student may find useful :

GRAESSE *Orbis Latinus*, Dresden 1861 (with the Latin names of
modern towns).

INTRODUCTION

THERE is no Latin author the study of whose text has at once such interest and such value for students of textual emendation as Plautus. For the text of Plautus is on the one hand not nearly so certain as the text of Virgil, of which we have some half-dozen complete or fragmentary MSS. dating from the third to the sixth century, nor on the other so hopelessly uncertain as the text of Propertius, of which no MS. exists that is older than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It is still full of difficulties, in spite of the labours of a large number of scholars for a large number of years, though each month—I might almost say each week—sees a difficulty removed; and now that we have at last a full collation¹ of all the important MSS., we may hope to attain before long to a completely satisfactory text.² The study of the text of Plautus has thus all the fascination of a problem which

The Text of Plautus—its special value for the study of Textual Emendation.

¹ In the large Teubner edition by Ritschl's three pupils, Loewe (now dead), Goetz, and Schoell, the last volume of which appeared in 1894. Some additions and corrections will be found in the critical apparatus of the small Teubner text by Goetz and Schoell (Leipzig 1893-6).

² The text which modern criticism seeks to discover is that of the first edition or, as an ancient edition is generally called, "recension" of Plautus, which is variously referred to the time of Varro by Ritschl, and to the age of Hadrian by Leo (*Plautinische Forschungen* chap. i).

has not yet been solved, but which evidently can, and sooner or later must, be solved. Even an untrained student may at any moment by an ingenious conjecture remove a difficulty, and thereby open the way to the resolution of a score of similar problems.

And the text of Plautus offers peculiarly useful material to the student of textual criticism from the following reason. It is for the larger part, like the text of most Latin authors, dependent on minuscule ¹ MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Now one of these minuscule MSS. of Plautus has for a great portion of the text extraordinary value. It has preserved with rare fidelity the actual text of the archetype, leaving corruptions as they stood, with scarcely any attempt to remove them. It thus throws a wonderful amount of light on the course taken by corruptions in minuscule MSS., as an example or two will show. In the *Pseudolus* v. 1041 for *le nunc* the other minuscule MSS. of Plautus read *lenonem*. Ballio, a "leno," is one of the characters in the *Pseudolus*, and the word *leno* is of frequent occurrence throughout the play; but it is plain that the sense of this line requires *le nunc*, and that *lenonem* must be a corruption of these two words. The change seems a violent one, and it does not at

One minuscule MS. of Plautus faithfully reproduces the archetype;

¹ The earliest Latin MSS. were written in capitals till the fifth century. From the fourth century we find MSS. in uncials or rounded capitals (*e.g.* V is the capital, U the uncial form). From the eighth century onwards minuscule or small writing became universal — in Italy Lombardic minuscule, in Spain Visigothic minuscule, in France and Germany Caroline or Carolingian minuscule. This last variety, introduced in the reign of Charlemagne, and brought to artistic perfection in Alcuin's School of Calligraphy at Tours, is reproduced in our ordinary printers' type. For at the Renaissance period in Italy there had been a reversion to the early Caroline minuscule, and the first Italian printers copied this, the ordinary book-hand of the time. In Germany, on the other hand, the debased form of Caroline minuscule, known as Gothic or Scholastic Minuscule, was in vogue at the era of the invention of printing; and German printers cut their printing-blocks in imitation of this less pleasing script.

first sight appear how we could justify such an emendation as *te nunc* where MSS. read *lenunc*. A glance at the good codex shows us the intermediate step between the two readings. It has *lenunc*, having faithfully preserved the miswriting of the archetype—a miswriting not uncommon in MSS. (ch. vi. § 1)—of *l* for *t*. Correct this single letter, and the line reads smoothly and metrically :

Macédoniensem quí te nunc flentém facit.

The writer of the copy from which the other MSS. are derived, trying to emend the obvious corruption *lenunc*, succeeded only in effacing all trace of the true reading. Again, in *Pseud.* 267 the other MSS. offer an impossible ending of a trochaic tetrameter, *dextram* :

sí lucri quid détur, potius rém divinam “dextram.”

The true reading is *deseram*, as we learn from the good codex, which has *dextram*, *t* having been substituted for *e* in the archetype—a substitution which probably dates from a time when the text was written in capitals. Other instances from the *Stichus* are : v. 573 *possit* for *opus sit*, where the good codex has *opos sit*, this being probably a trace of the old spelling¹ of Plautus' time ; v. 192 *nire repleverit* for *ni vere perierit*, where the good codex has *ni vere perierit*. Other examples with the same wrong division of words may be seen in the *Persa* : v. 587 *aequo mihi curat* for *aequom hic orat*, where the intermediate stage is *aequo mihi corat* ; v. 546 *qui asperi equidem* for *quia specie quidem* through *qui asperi equidem*. These examples, which might be multiplied indefinitely, may suffice to illustrate the part played by this codex, which so faithfully interprets for us the puzzling varieties of reading that are found in its

and explains the variations of other minuscule MSS.

¹ We have OPOS on an old inscription (*C. I. L.* i. 52 C. Pomponi Quir[ina] opos). See my *Latin Language* p. 236.

fellow MSS. The text of most Latin authors depends on minuscule MSS. precisely similar to the ordinary minuscule MSS. of Plautus, but an "interpreter" codex is usually lacking; and that is why a study of the Plantine text is so valuable a training for the emendation of other Latin writers. The MSS. of these will offer us hundreds of readings like *lenonem* for *le nunc*, *dextram* for *deseram*, *aequo mihi curat* for *aequom hic orat*, leaving us without the slightest clue to the origin and course of the corruption. And yet it is a palmary rule of textual criticism that until we can indicate how and why a proposed reading was altered to the reading of the MSS., our emendation cannot be satisfactory or convincing.

One ancient MS. of Plautus in capitals

There is still another feature of the Plantine text which makes a study of it peculiarly valuable training for textual emendation. Unlike the texts of most Latin authors, it is not dependent on minuscule MSS. alone, but has for a considerable part of the plays (for almost the whole indeed of four plays, the *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, and *Stichus*) a MS. in capital letters of the fourth century, the famous Palimpsest of the Ambrosian Library at Milan. All minuscule MSS. have, of course, originally come from capital or uncial texts; and a comparison of the minuscule and majuscule texts of these four plays shows us the nature and extent of the corruptions which a text would commonly suffer in its transmission from majuscule to minuscule form. Thus from a variety of reasons the MSS. of Plautus are capable of teaching us more about Latin textual criticism than those of almost any other Latin author.

illustrates the corruptions incidental to the change from majuscule to minuscule texts.

It was the discovery of this ancient MS. of Plautus, the Ambrosian Palimpsest, which opened the way to the scientific study of the Plantine text, as at present conducted on the lines laid down by Ritschl. Before

it appeared on the scene such corruptions as were shared by all the minuscule MSS. had the credit of being genuine readings, because every known codex agreed in exhibiting them. Against a "consensus" of MSS. textual criticism was powerless. By the help of the Palimpsest, however, which offered a new reading in many of these corrupt passages, Ritschl was able to prove that all that this "consensus" of MSS. implied was that, with the exception of the newly-discovered codex, all our MSS. belonged to one and the same "family"—in other words, were derived ultimately from one and the same archetype or original MS. From an examination into their peculiarities this lost original has been assigned to the eighth or ninth century—no very early date. The readings, therefore, which Ritschl's predecessors had not ventured to alter appear to be nothing else than the corrupt readings of a single minuscule MS. of Charlemagne's time or later. The value of a "consensus" of MSS. receives thus a convenient illustration from the MSS. of Plautus; for the agreement of a mere pair—namely, the Ambrosian with any one of the others—is of far more importance than the agreement of all the minuscule codices that we possess.

Value of a
"consensus"
of MSS.
illustrated
from the
MSS. of
Plautus.

Here is a list of our MSS.¹ :—

1. The "Ambrosian Palimpsest," now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, formerly, it seems, in the library of the Irish monastery of Bobbio in North Italy. It is written in capitals of the fourth century. Its readings² in the

List of the
MSS.

¹ A full account of them will be found in Ritschl's *Prolegomena*, and in the Introductions to the several plays in the large Teubner edition by Loewe, Goetz, and Schoell. Facsimiles in photography of their writing are given in Part I of Chatelain's *Paléographie des Classiques latins*.

² The fullest account of the text—a text extremely hard to decipher—is to be found in Studemund's *Apograph of the Ambrosian Palimpsest* (Codicis Rescripti Ambrosiani Apographum), Berlin 1889.

critical apparatus of editors of Plautus are indicated by the letter *A*.

2. The "Codex Vetus," now in the Vatican Library, formerly in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg. It was written in Germany in the tenth century. Its symbol in editors' critical apparatus is *B*.

3. The "Codex Decurtatus," in the Palatine collection at Heidelberg, written in Germany in the eleventh century. Its symbol is *C*.

4. The "Codex Ursinianus," in the Vatican Library, written in Germany in the eleventh century. It was this MS. whose discovery at the Renaissance caused so much enthusiasm; and all MSS. of the fifteenth century and later which contain the last twelve plays are copied from it. Its symbol is *D*.

Of these four MSS., which are our leading authorities for the text of Plautus, *A* contained all the twenty plays and also the *Vidularia*, but only a fragment of the MS. has been preserved to us; *B* contains all the twenty plays; *C* only the last twelve (in this order, the order also of *B* and *D*—*Bacchides*, *Mostellaria*, *Menæchmi*, *Miles Gloriosus*, *Mercator*, *Pseudolus*, *Poenulus*, *Persa*, *Rudens*, *Stichus*, *Trinummus*, *Truculentus*); *D* the first three (*Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia*), with vv. 1-503 of the fourth, the *Captivi*, followed by the last twelve.

To these we may add three twelfth-century MSS. which contain only the first eight plays in the same order as *B* (*Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Curculio*, *Casina*, *Cistellaria*, *Epidicus*), viz. :—

5. A MS. at Milan (*E*).

6. A MS. at Leyden (*V*).

7. A MS. in the British Museum (*J*).

Also a fragment of a MS. in the Vatican Library, containing about 150 lines of the *Captivi* (vv. 400-555). This fragment belongs to the eleventh century, and is designated by the letter *O*. Of a lost MS., designated by *T*, a MS. used by the scholar Turnebus, we have only isolated readings preserved. They show that *T* was very like *B*, and therefore of great value.

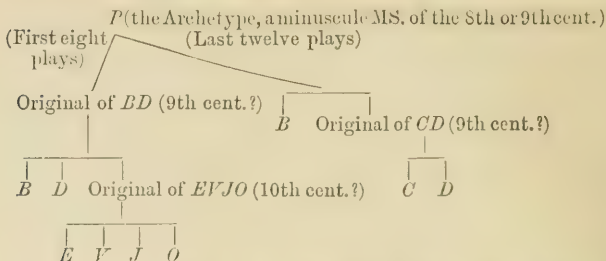
We have seen that all these minuscule MSS. are ultimately copies of a single lost minuscule codex, assigned to the eighth or ninth century. The readings of this lost archetype, which we can infer from the readings of *BCDEIJJ* etc., are, for convenience, designated by the symbol *P*; so that, for example, in *Stich.* 595, where the minuscule MSS. have all of them the corruption *una* instead of *vasa* of the Ambrosian Palimpsest, we may indicate¹ the two readings in this way: *una* *P*, *vasa* *A*. The relationship of the several members of this family, the "Palatine" family, of MSS. seems to be as follows²:—

The first eight plays in *B* and the first three and a half in *D* were copied from the same original, a ninth- or early tenth-century MS., now lost. But this part of *B* was corrected from a much better MS., perhaps the archetype itself. *EIJJO* were all copied immediately or ultimately from one original—a MS. possibly of the tenth or early eleventh century, which was itself a copy of the original of *BD*, so that their text is not of much value. The second part of *B*, containing the last twelve plays, is probably copied directly from the archetype. In the latter portion of the MS. the task of copying was divided between a number of scribes, to each of whom only a short piece of the original was assigned, with the result that the last seven plays (*Pseud.*, *Poen.*, *Pers.*, *Rud.*, *Stich.*, *Trin.*, *Truc.*) have been copied with extraordinary fidelity (see above, p. 2). *C* and *D* (last twelve plays) are copies, made apparently in the same scriptorium, of a lost (ninth- or tenth-century?) MS., which was probably, like *B*, a direct copy of the archetype.

If we put these results in the form of a "stemma codicum," we have—

¹ *P* is the initial of *Palatinus*. The text of this lost archetype is usually called the "Palatine" text, because the MS. which most faithfully reproduces it, the "Codex Vetus" (*B*), belonged to the Library of the Elector Palatine.

² See my pamphlet, *The Palatine Text of Plautus*, Oxford (Parker) 1896.



It is probable that *P*, the archetype, was directly copied from a MS. in capitals (*i.e.* not later than the fifth century); so that our authorities for the text of Plautus resolve themselves into two ancient MSS. in capitals—one preserved, though in a fragmentary condition, viz. the Ambrosian Palimpsest; the other lost, viz. the original from which *P* was copied.

Where we have the evidence of *A*, the Ambrosian Palimpsest (in capital script), as well as of *P*, the archetype of all the other MSS. (in minuscule script), we are seldom at a loss to find the true reading. The difficulty is to elicit the genuine text from the evidence of *P* alone; and, owing to the fragmentary state of the Palimpsest, that is what we have to do in the greater number of plays. The *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, and *Stichus* are, as before remarked, the favourable exceptions. The method, then, to be followed by the textual critic of Plautus is obvious. He must observe the corruptions which the evidence of *A* enables him to detect in the *P*-text of these four plays and others, and infer, by deduction from the known to the unknown, that the same corruptions will be present in other parts of the work where the evidence of *A* is wanting. An example will make this clear. In *Trin.* 556 the minuscule MSS. (*BCD*) agree in reading

Me tibi dixisse hoc. Dixisti tu arcano satis,

which will not scan. The Ambrosian Palimpsest, however, offers *dixti* instead of *dixisti*, a change which makes the line perfectly metrical :

Me tibi dixisse hoc. Dixti tu arcanó satis.

Similarly eleven lines below, in v. 567, the minuscule MSS. have the unmetrical line

quid tecum, Stasime ? De istoc quod dixisti modo.

Here again *A* reads *dixti*, a form which restores the metre of the line :

quid técum, Stasime ? Dé istoc quod dixti modo.

Some lines farther on, in v. 602, we have in the minuscule MSS. a line with an extra syllable :

quomodo tu istuc, Stasime, dixisti nostrum erilem filium ?

Here we have not the Palimpsest to help us ; for the leaf which contained this part of the play has been lost. For all that, no one could for a moment question the propriety of departing from the reading of all the minuscule MSS., *dixisti*, and of substituting for it *dixti* :

quómodo tu istuc, Stásime, dixti nóstrum erilem filium ?

For the instances just quoted show that the scribe of the archetype had a habit of writing *dixisti* instead of *dixti*. This example is typical of the method which must be followed in reconstructing the text where we have the testimony of the minuscule MSS. only—in other words, the text of the greater portion of the plays. From the portion where we have the evidence of *A* to check the evidence of *P* we must discover what are the besetting sins of the *P*-scribe ; for the probability is that corruptions in the *P*-text in the remaining portion also of the plays are due to the same mistakes.

These prevalent mistakes of the minuscule MSS. of Plautus we shall find to be the prevalent mistakes of

Classification of the prevalent errors in MSS.

all Latin MSS. They may be roughly classified under seven headings :—(1) Emendation, (2) Transposition, (3) Omission, (4) Insertion, (5) Substitution, (6) Confusion of Letters, (7) Confusion of Contractions. Of these only the first class, errors of emendation, are deliberate deviations from the text of the original ; the others are all ordinary unintentional mistakes of copying. I propose to devote a chapter to each class, and in each chapter, after explaining with a few examples from various authors the nature and cause of the corruption, to give a list of examples from the MSS. of Plautus, and finally, by way of supplementing theory with practice, to indicate certain passages of Plautus, not yet satisfactorily emended, which seem to me to exhibit the corruption in question.

CHAPTER I

ERRORS OF EMENDATION

1. It is in the MSS. of the fifteenth century, the period of the Renaissance of classical studies, that deliberate emendation has most usurped the place of faithful reproduction of an original. Manuscripts were at that time to a great extent written by scholars themselves or under their supervision; and it was regarded as the first duty of the preparer of a MS. to furnish his readers with a text which was correct in sense and grammar. The corruptions, real or imaginary, of the original were silently emended; and lacunae were filled up with words or whole lines, suggested by the ingenuity of the scribe himself or of the scholar whose directions he followed. The fifteenth-century MSS. of Plautus which contain the last twelve plays afford examples to the full. We know them to have been copied from the "Codex Ursinianus" (p. 6), and from no other source; and since their original is preserved to us, we can estimate exactly the deviations of each copy. Thus in *Pseud.* 1063

Deliberate
emendation
a feature of
Renaissance
MSS.,

visio quid rerum meus Ulixes egerit,
the archetype of our minuscule MSS. had *qui* instead of *quid*, a common mistake (ch. vii. § 2). The corruption *quirerum* is faithfully preserved in *B*, but in the original of *CD* a new confusion ensued—the

substitution of *s* for *r* (ch. vi. § 1), *quiserum*. This *quiserum* the late copy boldly alters to *quid servus*:

viso quid servus meus Ulixes egerit.

Again, the missing scenes of the *Amphitruo* were supplied by a Renaissance scholar, Hermolaus Barbarus, with verses of his own; and these "scenae suppositae" appear both in MSS. of the time and in the early printed editions.¹

It is these practices of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which have brought MSS. of this period under suspicion, and which attach uncertainty to any text, such as the *Silvae* of Statius, for which we have no older authority than Renaissance MSS., or the poem on Prosody of Terentianus Maurus, for which we have only the "editio princeps" (Milan, 1497).²

but hardly
of early
minuscule
MSS.

2. The period of Charlemagne and his successors was another period of revival of learning. But, as a rule, the Carolingian monk-copyists confined their emendation to matters of spelling and punctuation, and have not played havoc with the text of Latin authors to the extent of the Renaissance scribes. Interpolations are scarcely to be found, except in grammatical texts, like Priscian and Nonius; and even there they are to be regarded more as marginal jottings of additional examples of a word or fresh illustrations of a grammatical rule, which accidentally found their way in subsequent copies out of the margin into the text.

Wrong cor-
rection of
spelling.

3. The first duty of a Carolingian monk-copyist was to correct the barbarous spelling of his original.

¹ See Ritschl *Opuscula* ii. 46.

² Printed from a MS., now lost, from the Irish monastery of Bobbio in N. Italy. Pliny's Letters to Trajan are not quite in this category, now that jottings from the lost Paris MS. have been discovered by Mr. E. G. Hardy in the margin of an early edition in the Bodleian Library (see *Journal of Philology* xvii. 95).

In late Latin *e* and *i*, *o* and *u* were in certain circumstances pronounced alike, *et* had assumed the sound of *tt*, *x* of *s*, so that in manuscripts of the period preceding the Revival of Learning under Charlemagne we find barbarisms like *littoris* for *lectoris*, *creaturem* for *creatorem*, *auerint* for *hauserint*. An *i* was prefixed in late Vulgar Latin to words beginning with *sp*, *sc*, *st*, and some other consonants; a final *-um* was pronounced as *o*; and these mispronunciations, which have left their mark on the Romance languages (*e.g.* Fr. *école* from Vulg. Lat. *i-schola*, Ital. *vino* from Lat. *vinum*), perverted the spelling of the illiterate Merovingian copyists. For the purpose of weeding out these barbarisms from MSS. the Carolingian scribes were provided with text-books on orthography, one of the most widely used of which was the *De Orthographia* of Alcuin, the head of the famous monastery-college of Tours. This task they performed on the whole extremely well; and we owe it to these monks that the texts of Latin authors have come down to us in a readable state. But mistakes were unavoidable. Occasionally a scribe left a misspelling uncorrected, when it had assumed the form of a different word; as, for example, *littoris*, a misspelling of *lectoris*, has the form of the gen. sg. of *littus* (on errors of this kind see ch. v). Occasionally in excess of zeal he altered a perfectly correct form under the idea that it was a misspelling. Thus *o*, we have seen, was the Late Latin equivalent of *-um* of the acc. sg. masc. and nom. acc. sg. neut. of the second declension, and would be corrected by a Carolingian copyist to *-um*. But in *Bacch.* 463 *cave malum* of the MSS. may be a wrong correction of the Plautine *cave malo* (cf. *Pers.* 369 *malo cavere meliust te*), the scribe having wrongly supposed *malo* to be the same late Latin misspelling of *malum* as *vino* etc. (Ital. *vino*), of *vinum*. Similarly the common Plautine adverb *facite* has

been altered to *facite* (2 pl. imper.) in *Mil.* 1141, 1161 etc.

Wrong separation of words.

4. Besides correcting the spelling of his original, a Carolingian scribe had to attend to the proper separation of the words and to the punctuation of the sentence. Punctuation, unless in a very rudimentary form,¹ can hardly be said to be known in Latin MSS. till the Carolingian period; and although in the more carefully written ancient MSS.² we find the words ticked off from each other by dots, the separation of words in Latin MSS. may be put down to the credit of minuscule copyists.³ A thorough separation, indeed, is not found in the earlier minuscule MSS., for small words, such as prepositions, pronouns, and particles, are usually joined to longer neighbouring words, a practice which is exemplified on every page of the Plautus MSS. (e.g. *Capt.* 10 *inulide* BDE, 34 *depreda* DEJ, *dequestoribus* BDE, for *in Alide, de praeda, de quaestoribus*).⁴ This has

¹ In a Lyons MS. of Origen, belonging to the sixth or seventh century, and written partly in uncials, partly in half-uncials, we find that spacing takes the place of punctuation signs. For example, the sentence *omnis enim qui male agit, odit lucem* is written so:

OMNISENIMQUIMALEAGIT OBITLUCEM

(See the *Album Paléographique*).

² The words are not separated in the Ambrosian Palimpsest of Plautus. Thus *Pseud.* 1173 *quotamo die* (see below), is there written QVOTVMODIE.

³ Alcuin in one of his letters to Charlemagne urges the necessity of these reforms (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* Epp. iv. p. 285): *punctorum vero distinctiones vel subdistinctiones licet ornatum faciant pulcherrimum in sentiis, tamen usus illorum propter rusticitatem paene recessit a scriptoribus. Sed sicut totius sapientiae decus et salutaris eruditionis ornatus per vestrae nobilitatis industriam renovari incipit, ita et horum usus in manibus scribentium redintegrandus esse optime videtur.*

⁴ Occasionally the final letter of the preposition has been assimilated to the initial letter of the noun, just as in a compound verb we find, e.g., *suppeto* from *sub peto*, *unno* from *ad no*. Thus *sub petaso*, "under a hat" (*Amph.* 145), is in our MSS. *suppetaso*; and in v. 256 of the same play *ad nos*, from being written *adnos*, has become *annos*! A long list of instances of the kind, some of them ancient, will be found in Heraeus *Quaestiones de Codd. Licianis* Berlin 1885 p. 32.

often led to the loss of these small dependents. For example, in *Cas.* 854 *i belle bellatula* the first word has been lost in our existing minuscule MSS., probably because *ibelle*, so written, was taken for the same barbarous spelling of *belle* as *ischola*, quoted above, of *schola*: in *Rul.* 875 *obsecro me*, written *obsecrome*, has become in *B* *obsecrom* and in *CD* *obsecro*.

With consequent loss of small words

Keller (*Epilogomena zu Horaz*) explains the loss of *i* in a class of Horace MSS. in *C.* iii. 11. 50:

dum favet nox et Venus, i secundo
omine,

by the supposition that *i* was written with a point before and after it, · *i* ·, and that these points were mistaken for "puncta delentia" (ch. iv. § 1, below).

5. The wrong separation of words in MSS. can sometimes be remedied by a stroke of the pen. Madvig's brilliant restoration of a passage of Seneca's *Epistles* (89. 4) is a well-known example: philosophia unde dicta sit, apparet: ipso enim nomine fatetur quid amet. Sapientiam ita quidam finierunt, ut dicerent divinorum et humanorum sapientiam. In this passage the QUIDAMET of the Archetype had been wrongly broken up by a Carolingian scribe into *quidam et*, so that the MSS. offered: ipso enim nomine fatetur quidam et sapientiam ita quidam finierunt; and modern editors printed: ipso enim nomine fatetur. Quidam et sapientiam ita * * quidam finierunt, supposing a sentence to have dropped out after *ita*. Similarly in Hor. *C.* i. 35. 34:

quid nos dura refugimus
aetas?

the *durare fugimus* of certain MSS. is easily emended. But usually the wrong separation of words brought other mistakes in its train. In the *Persa* of Plautus,

v. 587, we have seen (p. 3) that *aequom hic orat*, "he talks justice," written AEQVOMHICORAT, was in the Carolingian archetype of our minuscule MSS. wrongly broken up into *aequo mihi (mihi) corat*. The natural consequence was that copyists fancied this *corat* to be a misspelling of *curat*, so that we have in the manuscripts C and D *aequo mihi curat*. Another example has been already quoted from v. 546 of the same play. *Quia specie quidem*, written QVIASPECIEQVIDEM, was broken up into *qui.aspeci equidem*, and was changed—how could it be otherwise?—to *qui asperi equidem*, the *aspeci* being taken for a misspelling of *asperi*. A curious instance is found in v. 288 of the *Mercurelli*, where *opsonatu redeo*, "I come back from catering for dinner," appeared first as *opso nature deo*, then as *ipso naturae deo*.

6. The point to notice about all these wrong emendations of the text, or rather wrong corrections of what seemed to be misspellings, is the extreme facility with which they were produced. A Carolingian copyist, accustomed to correct errors like *littoris* for *lectoris*, *vino* for *vinum* etc. in every other line of a Merovingian original, could hardly do anything else than change *qui aspeci equidem* into *qui asperi equidem*, *opso nature deo* into *ipso naturae deo*, or in *Pseud.* 1173 *quo tum olim* (for *quotumo die*) into *quo tum hodie*. Once that the first error had been made, the error of not "visualising" properly QVOTVMODIE as *quotumo die*, the further development of the corruption followed as a matter of course. If, on the other hand, a miswriting in the original was not recognised to be a miswriting, but was copied faithfully as it stood by successive generations of scribes, a non-existent form might become perpetuated in MSS. A good example of this is a miswriting of the Vulgate in the book of Job, ch. xix. 23 24: *quis mihi det ut (sermones mei) exarentur in*

stylo ferreo et plumbi lamina vel *celte* sculpanitur in silice? Here *celte* is apparently nothing but a miswriting of the adverb *certe*. There seems to be no such word as *celte* in Latin. And yet this miswriting not only survived successive generations of copyists, but has actually established itself as a word of our language. In archaeological books the term "celt" is of frequent occurrence, meaning a particular kind of cutting instrument which is found among the remains of prehistoric man (see *The Oxford English Dictionary* s.v.)

Other familiar examples of "ghost-words," as these are called, are—"Grampian," from a miswriting of *Mons Graupius* in Tacitus *Agr.* 29; "Boadicea," a scribe's error for *Boudicca*; Virgil's *Inarime* (*Aen.* ix. 716), from a misapprehension of Homer's εἰν Ἀρίμοις (*Il.* ii. 783) as one word, Εἰναρίμοις. An example from Plautus MSS. is found in *Poen.* 1301, where the word *højulus*, "a porter," written in the older spelling *hailiolus*, became in the archetype of our minuscule MSS. *haliolus*, through the common confusion of *i* with *l* (ch. vi. § 1). This miswriting *haliolus* has found its way into a good many Latin dictionaries, and has been provided not only with more than one meaning, but also with more than one etymology!

7. The text of Plautus, with its numerous archaic forms and constructions, has unfortunately suffered greatly at the hands of mediaeval scribes. For example, in the Latin of Plautus' day *illic*, as well as *illi*, was dat. sg. of *ille*; *illi*, as well as *illic*, was the adverb (originally loc. sg. of *ille*) "there." But when a Carolingian copyist found the O. Lat. *illic* dat. sg. in his original, he naturally took it for a barbarous misspelling; and relying on the rule of his text-book of orthography that *illi* was the dat. sg., *illic* the adverb, he would usually substitute *illi* without hesitation. For the O. Lat. adverb *illi* he would similarly write

Modernising
of archaic
forms.

illic in his copy. In a few cases the metre shows us that a change of this kind has been made. Thus in *Amph.* 249 :

namque égo fui illi in ré praesenti et méus quom pugna-
túmst pater,

“for I was there at the action itself, and so was my father, when the fight took place.” Here the minuscule MSS. offer *illic* ; but since the metre (iambic tetrameter acatalectic) requires the form *illi*, we can be sure that *illic* is a scribe’s substitution for the *illi* of his original (cf. *Upt.* 277-9). This is in fact the leading principle of Ritschl’s treatment of the text of Plautus—the restoration to the text of the archaic forms of Plautine Latin, which had been silently changed to the classical forms by mediaeval scribes. Thus in *Merc.* 46, where the minuscule MSS. agree in reading *objurgare*, Ritschl made the line (an iambic trimeter) metrical by reading *objurigare* :

objurigare páter haec noctes ét dies,

“my father used to censure this night and day,” the old form *objūrigo* being attested by MSS. in other passages, e.g. by *A* in *Trin.* 70 :

nemóst. Quid tu igitur rógitas, tene objurigem ?

“No one. Why ask then if it is you I censure ?” When we look at the passages of Plautus which the Latin grammarians quote in illustration of archaic forms, we see to what an extent these archaic forms have been modernised in the course of transmission. Festus cites *termentum*, a derivative of *tero*, from the *Bacchides* ; but in *Bacch.* 929, clearly the line referred to, *non pedibus termento fuit*, “was not rough enough to hurt the feet,” we find *tormento* substituted in all the minuscule MSS., though *A*, the Ambrosian Palimpsest,

retains *termento*. The Palimpsest, however, is as guilty as the other MSS. in other passages—such as *Epid.* 10, quoted both by Festus and by Donatus for the archaic adjective *habitus*, “in good condition, stout”:

córpulentíór videre atque hábitíór. Huic grátia,

“you seem stouter and in better liking. Thanks to this (thieving hand of mine),” where *A* has *abílior*. To a fourth-century scribe, like the scribe of *A*, these old forms, *habitus*, *illi* adv., *illic* dat., etc., would be almost as unknown as to a Carolingian scribe. As a matter of fact we have in the minuscule MSS. quite as many archaic forms as in *A*. Sometimes they are preserved by all the minuscule MSS., e.g. *Men.* 405 *semul* (class. *simul*); sometimes by *B* alone, e.g. *Stich.* 383 *poste* (*post haec* CD, *postea* A), *Pseud.* 386 *efecta* (*haec facta* CD, *effecta* A). And in a large number of instances a trace, sometimes a very faint one, is preserved of a lost archaism: e.g. in *Cas.* 380, quoted by Priscian for the old nom. sg. *sortis*, “a lot,” the words *alia sortis*, “another lot,” are represented in *BE* by *alias oris*; and we can see that the old form *aíio* (class. *aio*) stood in the archetype in *Cas.* 71:

at ego aío id fieri in Graécia et Carthágini;

for *B* has *alío*, which in *VE* is changed to *alio* (to agree with *Graccia*), and in *J* (as in *A*) is *aio*. The *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius (second century A.D.) are full of complaints about scribes of the time, who altered, e.g., *maiores vestrum* (Sallust *Cat.* xxxiii. 3) into *maiores vestri*, *radimonium stitisses* (Cato) into *radimonium stetisses*, *quadrupes eques* (Ennius) into *quadrupes equus*; so that we can see that this form of error in MSS. was of an early date, and that mediaeval scribes are not the only offenders in this respect.

The modernising of archaic forms is carried out to a

great extent in the MSS. of Plautus, and the student of Plautine textual criticism must bestow great attention on this point. But since most of the examples that might be quoted in illustration (for a fuller list of them see Appendix A) are peculiar to archaic Latin authors, it will be sufficient to mention those which are commonly found in MSS. of Cicero, Virgil, and the like.

(1) **ii for i.**—An early grammarian (Velius Longus) tells us that Cicero was in the habit of writing with double *i* words like *Maia*, *Ajax*, where an *i* (*j*) stood between two vowels. In MSS. of Cicero we find that this archaic spelling has proved a stumbling-block to scribes. Thus *ciius* for *cjus* has become in *Milo*. 7. 16 *ei jus*, in *Fam.* vi. 2. 1 *et jus*, in *Att.* viii. 4. 1 *ei vis*. (Leo ad Plaut. *Mil.* 1274 cites *melius* as a corruption of *ciius*.)

(2) **st for est.**—Early grammarians (e.g. Marius Victorinus) recommend the curtailed spelling of the substantive verb in *audiendust* for *audiendus est*, *audiendust* for *audienda est*, *audiendumst* for *audiendum est*, etc. Spellings of the kind have usually been altered by mediaeval scribes, who sometimes rightly understand the contraction and expand the *-st* to the full form *est*, but often pervert *st* to *sit* or *si*, or even *sim* (written in MSS. *si*), or *sunt* (written in MSS. *st* with a line above). Thus in *Pseud.* 448 *insipientist*, “it is folly,” is rightly written in the Palimpsest *INSIPIENTIAST*, but in the minuscule MSS. is *insipientia (-cia) si* (cf. *Most.* 701).

(3) **-is Acc. Pl.**—The usual form of the acc. pl. of *i*-stems in good authors has *-is*, e.g. *civis*, *navis*. This is very often altered by mediaeval copyists to *-es*; though the remark of Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* xiii. 21. 3-5) that Virgil wrote *urbis* in *Georg.* i. 25 : *urbisne iuris re, Caesar* etc., but *urbes* in *Aen.* iii. 106 : *centum urbes habitant magnas*, shows us the danger of correcting each and every form in *-es* to the form in *-is*.

(4) **-os, -om for -us, -um.**—In Late Latin, as we have seen, *u* and *o* were in certain cases interchanged in pronunciation and writing; e.g. *vinum* was pronounced and written *vino* (cf. Ital. *vino*). A Carolingian scribe might

easily mistake a genuine form like *equum* or *servus*, nom. sg., for a Merovingian misspelling, and substitute *equum*, *servus*. In classical Latin *o*, the older vowel, was used after another *u* or after the consonant *c*, but in the Latin of Plautus' time the old spelling was retained in many other situations beside. It is not always easy to feel certain that an *o* which takes the place of *u* in the MSS. of Plautus is a genuine survival of the Old Latin form (e.g. *opus sit*, "opus sit," which has become corrupted to *possit* in *Stich.* 573; see above, p. 3), or a mere instance of the Late Latin use of *o* for *ū*. Similarly *e* for *i* in Plautus MSS. is a survival of the early form in *semul*, "simul," *Men.* 405, and the like, but may sometimes date only from the Late Latin period when *ī* had become *e* (cf. ch. v. § 9).

(5) *quoi*, the spelling in vogue in the youth of Quintilian (i. 7. 27), is, if understood by the scribe, corrected to *cui*; if not understood, it often becomes *quo* or *qui* (cf. *Bacch.* 126, 225, 617).

(6) **Unassimilated Prepositions in Compounds.**—A scribe was always prone to correct forms like *subpeto*, *adpeto* etc. to *suppeto*, *appeto* etc., and in this respect has often effaced the traces of the spelling of his original. On the other hand, he may often by this change have unconsciously reverted to the older spelling; for the assimilated forms are often those used by the ancient writer himself (e.g. Plautus used the form *assum* for *adsum*, and makes a pun with it on *assum*, "roasted," in *Poen.* 279), while the unassimilated forms have been foisted into the text by grammarians and editors of the Empire. The same is true of spellings like *quot* for *quod*, *set* for *sed*—spellings which are generally corrected by Carolingian scribes, and which may in many cases not be really ancient. (For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

The assimilation of prepositions in compound verbs often led to corruptions. Thus *conjecti* in Livy xxxvi. 12. 4, misread as *conlecti* (ch. vi. § 1), has become *collecti*; *conjectere* in Livy xxx. 5. 4, misread *conleere*, has become *collegere* (see Heraeus *l.c.*)

(7) **ec- for ex- in Compounds before f.**—The spellings *cefero*, *cefugio* etc. were a puzzle to mediaeval scribes, who generally replace them with *haec fero*, *et fero*, or the like. Thus in *Pseud.* 386, as we have seen, *cefecta* is retained by *B* alone, while *C* and *D* have *haec facta*. (On the similarity of *ec* to *et* in minuscule see ch. vi. § 1.)

(8) **iis for eis.**—The dat. and abl. pl. of the demonstrative *is*, when in the form *iis* or *is*, are often changed to *his*. The correction in MSS. written in Caroline minuscules is commonly made by writing above the initial *i* the sign of the Greek rough breathing (see ch. ii. § 7).¹

(9) **-umus for -imus.**—The change was made at the close of the Republic, e.g. *maxumus* (-*imus*), *vicinusumus* (-*cesimus*).

(10) **-undus for -endus** in gerundive.

(11) **-rier for -ri** in inf. pass., e.g. *Most.* 117.

8. Not only an archaic form but any unfamiliar word was liable to be changed by a scribe. Taking it for a mere misspelling, he would substitute for it some similar word which was familiar to him. In fact most textual corruptions might be included under the category of change of unfamiliar to familiar words; and it is a cardinal law of textual emendation that the form found by the scribe in his original must be supposed to have been a form less easy to understand or construe than the form which he substituted for it in his copy. In *Mil.* 831 the unfamiliar word *hēminas*, "pints," has become *feminas* in our minuscule MSS.; in *Mil.* 1178 *scātūlam*, "an eye-shade," has become *cultura*; and so on. The Latin interjections often puzzled mediaeval scribes. Thus *heus* has been changed to *ejus* in *Men.* 673 (cf. *Men.* 836; *Mil.* 1358). Greek words too, which were often written in Latin letters, are curiously transformed. The salutation

¹ e.g. in the early tenth-century MS. of Cicero *de Oratore* in the British Museum (Harl. 2736) this correction has frequently been made by a contemporary hand.

Change of
unfamiliar
to familiar
word.

e.g. interjec-
tions.

e.g. Greek
words.

χαίρε appears as *care* in MSS. of Cicero *Fin.* i. 3. 9; *ναὶ γάρ*, written *necar* (*Bacch.* 1162), has been emended by a scribe to *ne carpe*. And names of persons and places suffer in the MSS. of Plautus as they do in all MSS.; e.g. in *Men.* 1112 *at abii Tarentum* has been changed by one scribe to *ut habitarem tum*. e.g. proper names.

To guard against mistakes with a proper name, a horizontal line was often drawn above it in MSS. This line seems to have been mistaken by the scribe of the Ambrosian Palimpsest for a contraction-sign in *Uas.* 994 *Hector Ilius*, where the Palimpsest has *ecastor illius*, the scribe supposing that ECTOR was a contraction of *ecastor*. The confusion of *Ilium* with *illum*, *Ilio* with *illo*, etc., is of frequent occurrence in MSS. (cf. ch. vi. § 1; ch. v. § 12). Examples of this and other confusions of proper names are given by Madvig in his *Adversaria Critica* i. pp. 71, 125 sqq.

9. Sometimes it is the grammatical construction of the sentence which has been altered through being unintelligible to the scribe. The use of the ablative with *facio*, "offer sacrifice," in Virg. *E.* iii. 77 *cum faciam vitula*, was not understood by copyists, who have changed *vitula* to *vitulam*. Similarly the Plautine use of the adverb was not recognised in *Asin.* 807, where *quot pure habuerit* has been altered to *quot puras habuerit*, with *puras* made to agree with the word in the previous part of the line, *noctes*. Grammatical corrections.

10. We may include under the head of grammatical corrections the assimilation of one ending to another. For instance, *Mil.* 631 *albicapillus*, written in the archetype *albi capillus*, has become *albus capillus*. But this is often a mere clerical error. Thus *Mil.* 630 *clare oculis video* was wrongly written *claris oculis video*, evidently because the writer's mind wandered to the termination of the neighbouring word, and not because he thought *clare* to be a miswriting of *claris*. Assimilation of ending.

Change of
objection-
able words.

11. An error of deliberate emendation, not exemplified, I believe, in the MSS. of Plautus, is the change of objectionable words. Many examples of this are found in a ninth-century Paris MS. containing extracts from Martial; on which see the preface to Schneide-
win's edition of Martial p. lxxxv.

Metrical
emenda-
tions.

12. As instance of a metrical emendation we may take Juvenal viii. 148:

ipse rotam adstringit sufflamine mulio consul.

The word *mulio* having been miswritten *multo* (ch. vi. § 1), the line was emended in our MSS. to *multo suffla-
mine consul* to save the metre. Such emendations are rare in Plautus MSS., and where they do occur, cannot be referred to mediæval scribes; for these were ignorant of Plautine metre. They belong rather to ancient editions or recensions of the plays.

Completion
of a quota-
tion.

13. Nor can we exemplify from Plautus MSS. a not infrequent case of interpolation—namely, the addition of words for the purpose of completing a quotation. For instance, a passage of Virgil (*A.* vi. 577) is quoted by Nonius Marcellus (229 M. 28) in illustration of the word *Tartarus*:

tum Tartarus ipse
bis patet in praeceps tantum.

This is the form in which Nonius seems to have quoted the passage, and the form in which it is found in the ninth-century Leyden MS. of Nonius. But in the Laurentian MS., belonging to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century—a MS. which seems to be a direct copy of the Leyden codex—the second line is completed with the letters *t. q. s. a.*, standing for *tenditque sub auras*.¹

14. Very similar to this is another error—namely,

¹ The reading *auras* for *audinas* in this line is found in MSS. of Virgil.

the adaptation of a passage of an author to a parallel passage found in the same or another author. St. Jerome complains that in some MSS. of the Gospels the description of an event in one Gospel was altered or amplified in order to bring it into exact agreement with the description of the same event in another Gospel: *magnus hic in codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius evangelista plus dixit, in alio, quia minus putaverint, addiderunt. vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quattuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum ceteros quoque aestimaverit emendandos. unde accidit ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucae atque Matthaei, rursum in Matthaeo plura Joannis et Marci, et in ceteris reliquorum, quae aliis propria sunt, inveniantur.* The error has often arisen through the practice of transcribing parallel passages on the margin, whence the divergent reading has found its way into the text. Often too it is a mere slip of memory on the part of the scribe, who in transcribing one passage had let his thoughts wander to the diction of a similar passage. On this form of error see ch. v. § 5.

Adaptation
to parallel
passage.

15. Of additions to complete the argument, or to complete the construction of the sentence, a passage of the *De Natura Deorum* may serve as example (i. 31. 86): *dubium est enim, utrum dicat aliquid beatum esse et immortale, an, si quod sit [id esse mortale].* Here the words *id esse mortale* are a scribe's addition of this kind. The change of *et spiritu* to *sed quae spiritu* in a passage of Cicero (*Marcell.* 9. 28), *nec vero haec tua vita ducenda est quae corpore et spiritu continetur*, is clearly the emendation of a monk-copyist.

Completion
of argument
or construc-
tion.

The British Museum MS. of Plautus (*J*), a twelfth-century MS., is a copy of a lost codex which was professedly an

"emended" version. The writer of this lost MS., perhaps an abbot of a monastery, wrote at the end an epigram of his own composition, which has been reproduced in the British Museum copy :

exemplar mendum¹ tandem me compulit ipsum
cunctantem nimium Plautum exemplarier² istum
ne graphicus mendis proprias idiota repertis
adderet, et liber hic falso patre falsior esset.

The result of the learned abbot's interference has been that *J* is the most worthless of the twelfth-century MSS. of Plautus. Occasionally, especially in the *Epidicus*, he has made the right correction of his "exemplar mendum"; e.g. in v. 329 he has rightly corrected *fore* to *facere* (*fore* E, *ferre* B). But in the great majority of cases he has added his "propriea mendae" to the "mendae repertae"; e.g. in *Capt.* 274,

eúgepae ! Thalém talento nón emam Milésium,

"bravo ! I would not give a talent for Thales of Miletus," the first two words, written in his original *euge petalem* (a corruption of *euge petalem* of *BD*), have been corrected by him to *euge ob talem*.

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Here is a fuller list of examples from Plautus MSS. of the various errors of emendation :—

(1) Wrong separation of words :

Poen. 557 nos ratu's (nostratus *B*, nostra *CD*).

Pseud. 529 lepide lenonem (lepidele nomem *B*, lepidule nomen *CD*).

Pseud. 831 in patinas indidi (inpatina scindidi *BD*).

Asin. 684 me amantem egere (meam ante megere *BD*, meam ante mergere *EJ*).

Aul. 807 anu ea rem (an veram *BDE*, an vera *V²J*).

Mil. 685 suave ductust (sua deductust *CD*).

Truc. 137 quae mihi credidit quem hic redidit *B*¹, quem hinc reddidit *CD*).

(2) Modernising of archaisms :

In *Aul.* 748 occurs the old phrase (attested by Nonius)

¹ "Corrupt."

² "To copy."

luci claro, "in broad daylight," in which *luci*, being regarded as an adverb and therefore independent of distinctions of gender, is joined with the neuter of the adjective. Our minuscule MSS. agree in reading *luce clara*.

In *Mil.* 74 *ibus*, the old dat. pl. of *is*, is attested by the grammarians :

latrones, ibus dínúmerem stipéndium.

Two of our MSS. have *latronis bus*, the third *latronibus*.

Rud. 357 *inposuit* for *inposivit*.

Mil. 1181 *sis* for *sics*.

Amph. 445 *collum* for *collus* (attested by Nonius).

Amph. 554 *tu autem* for *tuatim* (attested by Charisius and Nonius).

Asin. 942 *voluptatis* for *volup*.

Aul. 93 *extemplo* for *extempulo*.

Bacch. 445 *attingas* for *attigas* (attested by Nonius).

Cupt. 30 *inde audivit* for *indaudivit*.

Amph. 673 *occepto* for *occepso* (attested by Nonius).

(3) Change of unfamiliar form :

Merc. 441 *licitere* (*liceret B*, *litigere CD*).

Trin. 798 *Athenas aurum* for *ad thensaurum*.

Trin. 934 *eo* for *cho*.

The interjection *st*, "hush!" is changed in the minuscule MSS. to *sta Cus.* 148, to *sit Pseud.* 129, to *si Pseud.* 600, 952, *Most.* 489, etc., to *ast Mil.* 985, to *est Cus.* 212, to *sed Curc.* 155.

(4) Grammatical correction :

Cupt. 159 *multigeneribus* (*multi generibus P. multis generibus DE*).

Mil. 1106 *ecquid fortis visast* (*fortius P*).

Mil. 1045 *viden tu ignavom, ut sese infert?* (*inferat CD*).

(5) Assimilation of ending :

Bacch. 956 *paria item tria eis tribus sunt fata nostro huic Ilio* (*nostra P*).

Men. Arg. 4 *avos paternus facit Menaechmum e Sosicle* (*paternos P*).

The following passages of Plautus should, I think, be emended in accordance with the above considerations :—

Mil. 1005. The MSS. offer : PAL. *prius nequam iliam*

oculis tuis. PYRG. *Videó id (ideo) quod credo tibi.* If we look at the whole passage, we shall see that the emendation of this line is mainly a matter of punctuation, like the famous emendation of a line of Shakspeare (*Oth.* v. 2. 7),

Put out the light and then——. Put out the light !
for which in the old copies we find,

Put out the light and then put out the light.

The soldier Pyrgopolinices is talking with the slave Palaestrio about the pretended widow who has sent him a message :

PAL. tum autem illa ipsast nímium lepida nímisque nitida fémina.
PYRG. hérele vero jam ádlubescit prímulum, Palaéstrio.

PAL. *príusne quam illam oculis tuis*——

PYRG. *Videón id quod credó tibi?*

Palaestrio is interrupted before he can finish his question with the word *vidisti*, "Are you in love with her without having yet seen her?" by the impatient rejoinder of the soldier, "Your description of her is so satisfactory that it is as good as seeing her for myself," lit. "Do I not see what I believe from you?" with *ne*, as often, for *nonne*.

Cases of interruption of this kind are not uncommon in Plautus, e.g. *Truc.* 504 :

ST. Sálve. AS. Salvom—— ST. Scío : sed peperitne, óbsecro,
Phronésium ?

where Astaphium is interrupted in the middle of the sentence *salvom te advenisse gauden* (other examples are *Epid.* 117, 128 ; *Poen.* 607). *Mil.* 1319 has been thus restored by Niemeyer :

PH. Íbo, quamquam invíta facio : hómimi pietas—— PL.
Scío : sapis.

Stich. 629 should, I think, be so explained. The parasite's bid for a dinner *non ego isti apud te cenabo ?* is interrupted by Epignomus :

Nón ego isti apud te——. Sátis spectatast míhi jam tua
felicitas (*ista* for *isti* A).

Most. 930. Sphaerio brings the key of the house to Tranio. The line assigned to Tranio by the MSS. is quite intelligible, if we suppose Sphaerio to hold up the key after the first sentence :

sed quid tu egredere, Sphaério ? jamjam. óptume
praeceptis parulsti,

"what do you come out for, Sphaerio ? (*Seeing the key*) Ah ! now I understand (cf. *jamjam novi*, *Truc.* 233). You have carried out my instructions capitally."

I would resolve *acto* of the MSS. in *Most.* 1134 into two words, *ac tu* (a common case of substitution), and read :

áge, mitte ista : ac tu ád me in cenam——. Díe venturum :
quid taces ?

Archaic forms should, I fancy, be restored to the following lines : *jusses* (with Bugge) to *Pers.* 106 :

SA. Pernám quidem
jussés adponi frigidam postrídie (*jus est* BCD).
TO. Ita fieri jussi,

"you should have ordered the ham to be served up cold next day. So I did" ; *caepsae* (on this old fem. pl. of *ipse* see my *Latin Language* ch. vii. § 20) to *Pseud.* 833 :

caepsae se patinae férvefaciunt ílico (*carpsese patinae* A, *cac ipsae sese patinae* BCD).

The Greek word *ἀνίαν* may be the cause of the corruption in *Poen.* 231:

postrémo modús muliebrís nullust núnquam ;
lavádo et fricádo scímús facere *áníav*,

where the MSS. offer *uniam* and *enjam*.

The Plautine construction of the adverb with *sum*, a feature of colloquial Latin, seems to me to have been wrongly changed by scribes in *Epid.* 498,

potuít : plus jam sum *libere* quinquénnum (*libera* MSS.),

and by modern editors in *Truc.* 172, where *aliter* should not be emended :

ego fátor, sed longe áliter est amícus atque amátor.

Wrong assimilation of endings¹ by the scribe of *P* appears to me in *Mil.* 894 :

mala mille meres. St ! né pave ; pejoribus convéniunt,
where *P* seems to have had *mala milla meres*. Translate :
“you deserve a thousand punishments. Hush ! don’t alarm
yourself ; they (sc. the punishments) befit worse women than
me.”

¹ With *Truc.* 822 *mala facta* (*P*) for *male facta*, cf. *Truc.* 555 *inproba facta* (*P*) for *inprobe facta*.

CHAPTER II

ERRORS OF TRANSPOSITION

1. TRANSPOSITION of words is perhaps the commonest error of MSS., so that a change in the order of the words is usually the least violent remedy that an editor can apply to an unmetrical line. As an instance from Plautus we may take *Stich.* 293, a trochaic septenarius, which in all the minuscule MSS. has the impossible ending *censeo aequum*, but in *A* ends correctly with *aequom censeo* : Transposition of words a very frequent error.

ad me adiri et supplicari egomet mi aequom censeo.

The scribe of the original of *CD* often fell into the same error. For example, *Pseud.* 322 is given both by *B* and by *A* in this, the right, form :

né illam vendas neú me perdas hóminem amantem. Aní-
mó bono es ;

but in *C* and *D* we have *perdas me* for *me perdas*, and *bono animo es* for *animo bono es*. Nor is the scribe of *A* exempt from the same mistake. In *Pers.* 620 *P* seems to be right in ending the line with *mi homo*, and *A* to be wrong with its *homo mi*.

2. The great frequency of this error is, no doubt, its cause. due to the readiness of the eye of a copyist to pass on to a word in front of the word that should be written. The error, once made, might be left without indication.

through the reluctance of a copyist to spoil the look of the page, or to call down upon himself the censure of his superior by leaving a token that a mistake had been committed. If the copyist discovered his mistake at the moment of making it, he might add in its proper place the transposed word without leaving any sign of correction (see § 3 below). That is how the word *fieri* comes to be repeated in *B* in *Bacch.* 80, where, instead of *ut solet in istis fieri*, *B* has *ut solet fieri in istis fieri*. This was in fact a besetting sin of the copyist of the *Bacchides* in *B*, though the first occurrence of the word has been generally erased by the scribe or the corrector (see Goetz, Preface to the *Bacchides* p. vii n.) (On wrong insertions of this kind see ch. iv. § 3.)

Leo in his *Plantinische Forschungen* p. 7 mentions as a common corruption of Latin texts, especially such as are based on a single archetype, a similar error—namely, the repetition of a word immediately before the word it governs, although it has been already written in its proper place. He cites for this latter error Catullus lxxvi. 23 :

non jam illud quaero contra me ut [me] diligat illa.

3. The usual way of correcting a transposition in a MS. was by drawing faint sloping lines like accent-strokes above the two transposed words. The transposition of *frater* and *dare* in *Aul.* 158 was corrected in some such way in the original of *BD* (which, as we have seen on p. 7, was the archetype of *EJ*), for *B* has rightly *frater dare*, *D* has *dare frater* with the transposition-sign faithfully copied, *EJ* have *dare frater* with no sign, so that in the original of *EJ* these marks had been neglected.

In the Laurentian MS. of Nonius at Florence the same marks were used to correct the transposition of syllables in *lucinium*, wrongly written for *lanicium* (i.e. *lanitium*); but the scribe of the Harleian MS., which is a direct copy of the

A transposed word often written again in its proper place.

Method of correcting transposition in MSS.

Laurentian, curiously mistook them for marks of deletion, and has written *laum*. If we had not the original from which the Harleian MS. was copied, how difficult it would have been to account for this corruption!

4. Transposition is often the result of a word having been written in the margin of an original MS. Unless there was clear indication of the place where the marginal word was to be inserted, it might easily be inserted in one part of the line by one copyist, in another part by another. A marginal word may of course be a word that properly belongs to the text but had been accidentally omitted by the writer of the original; but it may also be a mere adscript which should have no place in the text, or a variant taken from another, perhaps a worse, MS. (ch. iv. § 1). A certain amount of suspicion thus attaches to any word which is differently placed in the sentence by two or more MSS. which have come from a common archetype.

Words in margin of original often transposed in copy.

Very often the transposition of a marginal word took this form, that the word was copied into the text immediately beside the word which stood next to the margin in the original. The tenth-century Harleian MS. of Bede, a copy of the famous Moore MS. at Cambridge, may furnish us with an example. In v. 24, annal. 538: *eclipsis solis . . . ab hora prima usque ad tertiam*, the Moore MS. omits *solis* but adds it in the margin at the end of the line, that is to say after the word *tertiā*. The Harleian copy has *eclipsis . . . ab hora prima usque ad tertiam solis* (see Plummer's edition of Bede, Introd. p. xcix), the scribe having taken the word *solis* to be the last word in the line—a word crowded out into the margin through want of space. Thus the place where a transposed word is inserted may often indicate to us where the line ended in an archetype.

5. One other cause of the transposition of a word must be mentioned; for it is not uncommon in MSS. of Plautus and of any Latin poet who uses long

Transposition of "overflow" word at the end of a line.

metres. Where a verse was too long to be conveniently included in one line of the page, the "overflow" word was set at the end of the preceding line, if there was a blank space there; and a stroke was usually drawn in front of it to partition it off from the words after which it stood. If a copyist failed to notice this stroke, the result was a transposition of the word. For example, in *Asin.* 474-5:

ME. malum hérele vobis quaéritis. LE. crura hérele diffrin-
géntur,
ni istum inpudicum percies. LIBANUS. perii hérele : age
inpudice,

the "overflow" word of v. 475 (*inpudice*), written in the original at the end of the preceding line, is in our MSS. treated as a part of v. 474, which ends *diffringentur inpudice*, while v. 475 ends with *age*. In *Epid.* 445 the "overflow" words (*in ululescentia*) were written at the end, not of the preceding line, as is the usual practice, but of the following line; in the same play the words *concludi volo*, which are properly the concluding words of v. 402, were written in the original MS. at the end of the second line preceding.

This is a characteristic feature of MSS., even of prose texts, in Irish script. Where a paragraph closes before the end of a line, the Irish scribe, wishing to economise his vellum, has regularly filled up the blank space with the continuation of the following line. This practice has received from the Irish Grammarians the picturesque name of "head-under-wing," the long line with its end or "head" folded back into the preceding line being compared to a bird sleeping with its head tucked under its wing.

Transposi-
tion of a line.

6. Not merely words but whole lines may be transposed. Usually the error is due to the scribe having omitted a line and then having inserted it at the point

he had reached when he discovered his mistake, either one line late (*Epil.* 635-6 ; *Men.* 950-1) or two lines or three lines, as the case might be. If the mistake was not discovered till the whole page was written,¹ the omitted line would be added in the top or bottom margin (the side margins not affording room enough), with signs indicating the proper place of insertion—such as *h.d.* (“hic deest”), *h.s.* (“hoc supplendum”), or *h.p.* (“hoc ponas”). Sometimes a copyist neglects these signs of his original and writes the line before the first line of the page (if it stood in the top margin), or after the last line of the page (if it stood in the bottom margin). *Men.* 465, for example, appears after v. 474 in the minuscule MSS., though it has its proper place in *A.* *Bacch.* 73 is twice written in the minuscule MSS., both in its proper place and also before v. 65, which may have been the top line of the page in *P.*

A twofold occurrence of a line is often the result of the fact that an emended version of it or a variant form taken from another MS. had been appended in the margin by the corrector. The reason why *Bacch.* 166-169 reappear in *B* after v. 175 seems to have been that they had been written in wrong order ; for the words of the repeated passage are unchanged, and the only perceptible difference is that at its first occurrence the order is wrong (168, 169, 166, 167).

The appearance in *A* of vv. 232-3 of the *Stichus* after v. 208, as well as at their proper place, may be due to the scribe's having copied, when he turned over the page, the top lines, not of the left-hand page but of the right-hand page of his original. The scribe of *P*, too, at first skipped a leaf of his original containing vv. 1162-1204 of the *Pseudolus*. Hence vv. 1205-7 appear in our MSS. after v. 1161 as well as after v. 1204.

In *B* the transposition of two long passages of the *Poemulus*

¹ A careful scribe would always revise each page of his copy as he wrote it.

(vv. 218-284, which follow v. 352, and vv. 480-546, which follow v. 608) is, I think, the result of two broadsheets of the original having accidentally changed places. That original was apparently, like most mediaeval MSS., disposed in "quaternions," *i.e.* gatherings of four broadsheets which were laid one upon the other, and then folded into eight leaves or sixteen pages. Each leaf of the *Poenulus* in the original we know to have contained some 66 or 68 lines of the play (see Appendix A). The second broadsheet of the quaternion (that is the second and seventh leaves), containing on leaf ii vv. 218-284 and on leaf vii vv. 547-608, was put after, instead of before, the third broadsheet. This third broadsheet (the third and sixth leaves) had on leaf iii vv. 285-352 and on leaf vi vv. 480-546.

Transposition of syllables and letters.

7. The transposition of syllables and of letters is usually an indication of an uneducated copyist. In *Epid.* 285, for example, *te nolo* was written *te lono*. Forms like *dicti*, 2 sg. perf. ind., being unfamiliar to the scribe of the archetype (p. 9), often appear as *dirit* etc., the scribe having regarded them as illiterate spellings of this kind (cf. *Capt.* 155).

Often the cause is to be found in the practice of writing letters like *a*, *u* above the line in early minuscule (cf. Thompson *Greek and Latin Palaeography* p. 228); *at* might thus become *ta*, *tu* might become *ut*. The letter *h*, especially when added as a correction, was frequently written in the form of the Greek rough-breathing (ϝ) above the line (e.g. *Amph.* 299 *hercle*, in the original of *BDEJ*); and an *h* so written was in danger, not only of being overlooked by a copyist or mistaken for another letter, but also of being written before instead of after the letter above which it stood. In a Bodleian fifteenth-century MS. of Virgil (Canon. Lat. 61, written in Italy, the word *Daphnim* in *Ecl.* v. 20 was first miscopied as *dahpnim*, then corrected; and it is clear from various indications that in the original the *h* was expressed by this suprascript sign.

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Additional examples of the transposition of words :—

Stich. 117 *quô male faciundi est potestas, quæ ne id juriat, temperat* (A : *faciat id* P).

Stich. 295 *tantum à portu adportò bonum, tam gaudium grande adfero* (A : *adfero grande* P).

Stich. 512 *vobis dare* A, *dare vobis* P.

Asin. 172 *par pari datum hostimentumst, ópera pro pecúnia* (so in P) is quoted in the MSS. of Servius with *datum est hostimentum*, and in the MSS. of Nonius with *hostimentum datum est*.

Aul. 306 *haec mihi te ut tibi med æquomst credo credere* (*credere credo* BDVJ).

Epid. 244 *múlieri quam liberare vólt amator, quisnam is est ?* (A : *liberare quam* P).

Mil. 1165 *abierim cupiens istius nuptiarum. Omne[m] ordine[m]* (A : *omne ordinis nuptiarum* P).

Stich. 79 *án minaciter. scio litis fore : ego meas novi optume* (AB : *optume novi* CD).

Stich. 95 *sine, pater. Quid opúst ? Opust. Morem tibi geram. atque hoc est satis* (AB : *satis est* CD).

Stich. 587 *argenti velim* AB, *velim argenti* CD.

Stich. 688 *dabitur nemini* B, *nemini dabitur* CD.

In some cases the transposition of two neighbouring words gives evidence of itself in the faulty metre. Thus in Hor. C. iii. 19. 14 :

ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
vates,

the reading of some MSS., *attonitus cyathos*, declares itself to be wrong by the fact that it will not scan. But in Virg. E. i. 7 :

ite, meae, felix quondam pecus, ite, capellae,

both variants, *felix quondam* and *quondam felix*, equally suit the metre.

I think that in some verses of Plautus, even though the metre is intact, a transposition of words may be detected from the fact that the Plautine practice of keeping together alliterative pairs of words is not observed. Thus in *Capt.* 554 I would read

né verere : mûltos iste hómines morbus mácerat

(with hiatus, as often, at the end of the hemistich), where the minuscule MSS. have *morbus homines*.

The same rule of alliteration shows that the corruption in the MSS. reading is due to transposition of words in *Capt.* 691 :

quando égo te exemplis *é*ccruciáro péssumis,

where the minuscule MSS. have *pessumis éccruciávro* ; *Capt.* 476 :

quam ín tribu *sontés* aperto cápíte condemnánt reos,

where they have *aperto capíte sontes*.

An interesting example of the transposition of a line is found in a passage of the *Trinummus*, vv. 1112-4. After v. 1111, which ends with *fide*, our MSS. (*BCD*) have :

quamquam labores multos
sed hic unus ut ego suspícor servat fidem
ob rem labore meum ego cepisse censeo.

The explanation of the confusion I take to be that the scribe of the archetype noticed, after he had half written the line *quamquám labores málto*s, <? *sollicitúdi*nes>, that he had omitted (through homoeoteuton) the line *sed hic unus . . . fidem*, and immediately supplied the deficiency. Then, without finishing the line *quamquam* etc., he proceeded to copy the line :

ob rém alienam eum égo cepisse cénseo,

making confusion worse confounded by miscopying it !

Truc. 882 seems to me an example of the transposition of a syllable, the syllable *at*, which had been apparently omitted and then added in the margin. The MSS. give

id quoque *interim futatim* nomen commemorabitur,

with the unintelligible word *futatim*. Here I would read *ínteratim furtim*, on the supposition that the O. Lat. word *ínteratim* (an old form of *interim* mentioned by Paulus Diaconus) had been miswritten *interim* and the omitted syllable *at* had been added in the margin, whence it found its way not to the right word but to the neighbouring and similarly-ending adverb.

CHAPTER III

ERRORS OF OMISSION

1. THE commonest kind of omission is that known as ^{Haplo-}graphy, by which one only of two identical or similar words is written and the other is left out. In Virgil *G.* iv. 311, for éxample,

miscentur, tenuemque magis magis aera carpunt, of word,

some MSS. offer *tenuemque magis aera*, omitting the second *magis*.

This is an error for which there is great scope in the text of an author like Plautus, who loves to pile up phrases like *hic hinc huc transit*, and affects assonances like *male malus, suavi suavitate*. So prone are scribes to this error that I believe that in fifty per cent. of the lines of Plautus, where the same word is repeated or two almost identical words stand side by side, some MS. or other will be found to omit one of the pair. There is therefore every justification for an editor who emends the defective metre of a line by the insertion of a word before or after a word of similar appearance.

2. A not infrequent case of this error in the plays of Plautus is when in a dialogue the remark of one speaker ends with the name of the other speaker in the vocative case. Here in the original the voc. would be immediately followed by the same name, written in full or with contrac- of name of speaker in dialogue,

tion, as a "nota personae," to indicate the speaker of the next remark. An example will be found in *Epid.* 553, where the two speakers are Philippa and Periphane. The lines begins with *fabulata's*, a remark of Periphane; then Philippa says *mira memoras*, *Periphane*, to which Periphane replies *em istuc rectius*. The line seems to be preserved rightly in *A* :

fābulata's. Míra memoras, Périplane. Em istuc réctius ;
but the minuscule MSS. omit *Periphane*, the word being regarded as a "nota personae" and not as a part of the line. Many defective lines in Plautus which are divided between two speakers have been successfully emended on this principle.

of syllable
or letter.

3. Sometimes it is not a whole word that is omitted through haplography, but a repeated syllable or even letter. For example, *Mil.* 54 is rightly written in *A* thus :

ATPEDITASTELLIQVIAERANTSIVIVIVERENT.

that is

at peditastelli quia erant, sivi viverent,

"they were mere tag-rag-and-bobtail infantry, so I let them live." The repetition of the syllable *vi* proved a stumbling-block to the scribe of *P*, who wrote *si viverent* for *sivi viverent*, leaving a hiatus in the metre (between *quia* and *erant*). We may be sure, though we have not the testimony of *A* to help us, that it is a similar error which has obscured the name of Plautus in *Merc.* 10 :

eadém Latine Mércator Maccí Titi,

where the repetition of the three similarly-written syllables (see ch. vi. § 1) *ci-ti-ti* led to the corruption *mactici* in *P*—a corruption faithfully preserved by *B*, but in *CD* changed to *mattici*. An instance from the original of *CD* is *Pseud.* 246 :

quid hóc est ? quis ést qui morám mi occupáto,

where *moram mi*, probably written in the archetype¹ *moramⁱ*, became in the original of *CD* *moram*, with loss of the pronoun.

A particularly common case is the omission of the final letter of a word when the following word begins with the same letter. Thus the words *sic cogis*, written *siccogis*, would run great danger of being miscopied *sicogis* (*si cogis*), *me experti* would become *mexperti*, and so on.

4. The omission of a word, when due to haplography, is not hard to rectify. But omission is often due to other causes. Sometimes a scribe would deliberately omit a word which he did not understand or which he suspected of being a corruption, and would leave a blank space for it, meaning the corrector² of the MS. to insert it at the time of revision.³ The omission of *his cerebrum uritur* (*Poen.* 770) in *B* is perhaps to be explained in this way; for the fact that *CD* have the words (in the corrupt form *hisce Urebro auritur*) shows us that they stood in the archetype.

Omission of
unintelligible word,

¹ On the loss of small words which were joined in writing to longer neighbouring words see ch. i. § 4, and on the contraction *mⁱ* for *mihi* below, ch. vii. § 2.

² In the "scriptorium" of every monastery there was an official, known as the "corrector," whose duty was to revise a MS. as soon as it had been written, and collate it with its original or with some other MS. of the same work. The "corrector" of the first eight plays in *B* I believe to have used in his revision not the actual original from which *B* (as well as *D*) was copied, but the archetype itself, the original of the original of *BD* (see p. 7 above). In the same way the Laurentian MS. of Nonius has had valuable readings introduced into its text by a "corrector," who may have used for this purpose the actual archetype of all our MSS. (*Class. Rev.* x. 16). "Mixed" texts, which cannot be referred to one or other of two "families" of MSS., are to be explained by the supposition that a text copied from an original of one family has been corrected, either at the moment of its production or later, from a MS. of another family.

³ In *B* these omissions are indicated by a small *d* (for *deest*) in the margin. The letter has usually been erased by the "corrector" when he added the word required (e.g. *Cas.* 361), but traces of it sometimes remain (e.g. *Cas.* 64, 347).

of Greek
word,

5. Many mediaeval scribes were ignorant of the Greek alphabet ; and when a Greek word occurred in their original, written in Greek and not Roman letters, they left it for the corrector to supply. Hence the blanks in a twelfth-century Leyden MS. of Aulus Gellius, which are usually accompanied by a marginal note *gr[accu]* (see Hertz's Introduction p. lviii).

of small
word not
necessary to
sentence.

6. A common case of omission in MSS. of Latin authors is the omission of small, unimportant words, pronouns, particles, and the like, which are not necessary for the apprehension of the sense of the sentence. This plays a great part in the MSS. of Plautus ; for this author delights in the otiose use of personal pronouns (*ego, tu* etc.) or particles (*vero, nam* etc.), which a scribe who copied clause by clause and not word by word was very prone to omit. In *Bacch.* 134, for instance,

ibidem *égo meam operam pérdidi, ubi tú inam,*

the *ego* is retained by *B*, but was dropped in the original of *CD*. That *B* is right we see from the quotation of this line by Charisius, who quotes it with *ego* ; but the absence of the pronoun leaves no trace on the sense or metre of the line ; and there were probably several lines with this error in *P*, which afford us no possibility of detecting the omission. A large number of cases of hiatus have been removed by Ritschl from the text by the insertion of small words of this kind into the lines as they are presented in our minuscule MSS. *Bacch.* 1170 may serve as example. The reading of all our minuscule MSS. is

senex óptime quantumst ín terra, sine hoc exorare ábs te,

leaving the metre (anapaestic) defective. Ritschl restored the metre by inserting *me* after *sine* : sine me hoc exorare ábs te. The liability of small words such

as pronouns and prepositions to be omitted, through the practice of joining them in writing with longer neighbouring words, has been already mentioned in ch. i. § 4: so that editors are justified in resorting to the insertion of words of this kind to remove a hiatus or to supplement the defective number of syllables in a line.

7. Another cause of the omission of a word or several words or merely part of a word was the fact that it was illegible in the archetype owing to the presence of a stain on the page. The omission of the illegible word would be indicated in the first copy by a lacuna, but in subsequent copies all indication might disappear. The most famous instance of a "blot on the page" is the Bodleian Greek MS. of Arrian's "Dissertations of Epictetus," where a large portion of the centre of a page (fol. 25 r.) has been made illegible apparently by the pressure of some heavy weight, the leg of a chair perhaps. All other existing MSS. of the "Dissertations" are copied, ultimately or immediately, from this archetype, and omit either the illegible words alone or the whole passage, some with indication that there is a lacuna, others without any indication of the kind. A photograph of the page in question is appended to the Teubner edition of the "Dissertations" (Leipzig 1894).

Omission of word due to stain on page of archetype,

8. In the *Casina* we find in all or some of our minuscule MSS. blank spaces left at regular intervals, indicating the omission of words. At the same intervals we find lines in which no lacuna is indicated in our MSS., but which present a defective number of syllables, a word being patently omitted at the beginning of one line and at the end of another. Omissions of this kind may be referred without hesitation to a hole in the leaf of some archetype; and if we count the number of lines in these intervals, we

due to hole in leaf of archetype.

can estimate the number of lines on a leaf and (by halving that number) on a page of this archetype.¹

Causeless
omission of
a word,

9. Where the omission of a word is not due to a blot on the page or a hole in the leaf of the archetype, the omitted word may in the great majority of cases be supposed to be either (1) a word similar to a neighbouring word or identical with it, as in the instances quoted above (<*magis*> *magis*, *male* <*malus*>), or (2) an unusual form, such as a Greek word, or (3) a small word unimportant to the sense of the sentence, as in <*ego*> *meam operam perdidit*. But we must not forget that a word is often omitted from no other apparent cause than the carelessness of the scribe. The omission of *juris* in the original of *CD* in *Poen.* 586 :

hódie juris cóctiores nón sunt, qui lités creant,

does not come under any of the classes which have been mentioned, and is probably a quite inexcusable piece of negligence on the part of the writer. So in a passage of Nonius (21. 18) the scribe of the Laurentian MS. has passed over the word *genus*, though it is written plainly in his original, the Leyden MS.

of a syllable
or letter.

10. The omission also of a syllable or a letter, though usually due to haplography (§ 3) or to the confusion of one word with another of similar appearance, e.g. *fília* for *facília* (ch. v), or to the fact that the syllable was expressed by a contraction symbol, e.g. *píratus* for *períratus* (ch. vii. § 2), is occasionally merely a case of illiterate copying. In *Virg. A.* iv.

¹ The "gappy" archetype of Plautus was not the minuscule archetype *P*, but an earlier one. If we consider how soon indications of a lacuna vanish in the transmission of a text, we may be disposed to believe that the archetype in question was that archetype in capitals (p. 8) from which *P* was directly copied. It had from nineteen to twenty-one lines on a page (*A* has nineteen lines on a page); and it is not impossible that its gappy condition was due to its being a papyrus and not a vellum MS. (For details of these lacunae see Schoell's Introduction to the *Casina* pp. x sqq.)

491, for example, MSS. offer *descece* for *descendere*; in *G.* iii. 4 *im* for *jam*; in *G.* iii. 154 *arior* for *acrior*; in *A.* vi. 708 *indunt* for *insidunt*.

11. The omission of a word like *malus* or *magis* in the examples *male* <*malus*>, <*magis*> *magis*, may have been intentional. It was unintentional if the eye of the writer passed at the moment of writing from the one group of letters to the other similar or identical group. But it was intentional if the writer regarded *male* *malus* as a miswriting, left uncorrected in the original (see ch. iv. § 3), and *magis* *magis* as an error of dittography (ch. iv. § 4). About the omission of a line or passage there is seldom this doubt. In the great majority of cases it is due to two lines having had the same ending, so that the eye of the copyist, as he was finishing the one line, wandered to the ending of the other. In the *Miles Gloriosus* v. 554 ends with the words *quod viderim*, and so does v. 556 :

Omission of
a line or pas-
sage

due to hom-
oteleuton

fateór. Quid ni fateáre id ego quod viderim ?
Et ibi ósculantem meum hóspitem cum ista hóspita
vidisti. Vidi : cúr negem quod viderim ?

The consequence is that vv. 555-6 were omitted in *P*, and would have been lost to us if we had not the testimony of *A* for this passage. The same thing has happened in a passage of Horace, *C.* iv. 2. 49 *sqq.* :

teque dum procedis, io Triumphe !
non semel dicemus, io Triumphe !
civitas omnis dabimusque divis
tura benignis,

where certain MSS. omit v. 50. And it is an error of very common occurrence in MSS. of all authors. St. Jerome, commenting on a passage of the Prophet Jeremiah (xxx. 14) : *propter multitudinem iniquitatis tue, dura facta sunt peccata tua. Quid clamas super contritione tua ? insanabilis est dolor tuus ; propter multi-*

tudinem iniquitatis tuæ et propter dura peccata tuæ feci hæc tibi, explains the omission in the Septuagint of the words from *quid clamas* to *iniquitatis tuæ* in this way, but supposes the omission to have been intentional (videlicet quia secundo dicitur "propter multitudinem," etc., et qui scribebant a principio additum putaverunt).

It is extraordinary how trifling a case of homoeoteleuton may lead to a lengthy omission. For example, the mere occurrence of the syllable *que* in two similarly-ending lines (v. 507 and v. 509) of the speech of an undutiful son in the *Bacchides*,

nam jam domum ibo atque aliquid surrupiam patri.
id isti dabo. ego istanc multis ulciscar modis.
adeo ego illam cogam usque ut mendicet meus pater,

has been enough to occasion the loss of the intervening words in the Ambrosian Palimpsest, which presents the passage in this form :

nam jam domum ibo atque ut mendicet meus pater,

—a line which, curiously enough, is metrically correct, and which, so far as metre is concerned, offers no indication that anything has been lost.

The case of mere words or syllables being omitted through homoeoteleuton is almost as common. Manuscripts of Aulus Gellius i. 4. 8 offer *enutabatque* for *enudabat dijudicabatque*. And in Hor. *C.* iv. 6. 17 :

sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas heu,

the repetition of the syllable *-is* has caused the omission of *captis* in some MSS.

or other
cause.

12. Of the causeless omission of a line, like the causeless omission of the word *juris* in the passage quoted above (§ 9), an example will be found in *Cæs.* 376—a line which was omitted, for no apparent reason, in the original of *BD* (the archetype of *TEL*, p. 7), and which would have remained unknown to

us had not the corrector of *B* (p. 41) added it in the margin.

A change of copyist may be accompanied by the omission of a line or lines. At *Merc.* 961, for example, one of the copyists employed on the archetype ended his task. The new copyist began his task at v. 963 instead of v. 962, but rectified his error immediately, with the result that in our MSS. v. 962 follows v. 963. If the original of *EJ* began a new page, like *B*, at *Epid.* 271 *nunc occasiost faciundi* etc., the omission in *EJ* of the preceding lines (four in our editions, between two and three in the archetype) may be due to the fact that one of the copyists of the original laid down his pen too soon, before he had quite reached the end of the portion allotted to him.

Some editors have attempted to reconstruct the archetype of MSS. of authors on the supposition that accidentally-omitted lines would naturally be the top or bottom lines of a page, lines occupying this position being liable to be overlooked by a scribe, or to become stained and illegible, or to be cut off by a binder. But the correctness of this supposition is doubtful.

13. The initial letter of a verse or chapter was usually painted, and would be left by the scribe for the "rubricator" or "miniator" to fill in. In many MSS., *e.g.* the Codex Ursinianus (*D*) of Plautus, these letters were never supplied, with the result that a copyist often wrongly emended the deficiency.¹ This is why we find in MSS. of Hor. *C.* i. 19. 11 *Aversis* and *Versis* for *Et* (probably written *ē*, ch. vii. § 1) *versis*; *C.* i. 18. 15 *Attollens* for *Et tollens*; *C.* iv. 5. 7 *Effulsit* for *Affulsit*.

Omission of
initial letter.

¹ The Renaissance MS., *F*, which is a copy of *D* (last twelve plays), furnishes many examples. An amusing one is in *Most.* 532, where a money-lender comes on the stage complaining of the bad times:

Sceléstiorē ego ānnū argēto faénorī
numquā ūllū vīdī, quā hīc mīhī annū ōbtīgīt.

The scribe of *F*, taking *celestiorē* of *D* for the word *caelestiorē*, supplies as the initial letter of the line the interjection *O*: *O celestiorē*, etc., completely reversing the sense of the passage.

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Additional examples of omission :—

(1) of word by Haplography :

Cas. 556 *siquid ejus esset, esset mecum postulatio* (A : *ejus esset mecum* P).

Cas. 600 *tuam arcessituram esse uxorem uxorém meam* (A : *esse uxorem meam* P).

Epid. 245 *inquit altera illi : ibi illa nōminat Stratippoclem* (*illi ibi illi* A : *illi ibi* P).

Mil. 606 *atque eadem, quae illis voluisti facere, illi faciunt tibi* (A : *om. illi* P).

Capt. 447 *et tua et tua hūc ornatus reveniam ex sententia* (P : *et tua huc* OJ).

Merc. 565 *quid faciam ? Quod opust facto, facito ut cōgites* (B : *opust facto ut* CD).

Merc. 765 *non, nōn te odisse aiēbat, sed uxorem suam* (AB : *non te* CD).

Mil. 837 *bono subpromocet promocellam creditam* (*om. et promo* CD).

Poen. 921 *nunc si eadem hic iterum iterem inscitiast* (A : *hic iterum inscitiast* P).

The omission is deliberate in *Amph.* 723 :

énimvero praegnāti oportet et mālum et mālūm dari,
where the second *et malum*, rightly copied by the scribe, has been subsequently erased in *D*.

(2) of syllable by Haplography :

Mil. 1171 *reverearis* A, *revaris* P.

Mil. 1412 *verberabere* A, *verberare* P.

Mil. 1172 *formam amoenitatem* A, *formamoenitatis* P.

Capt. 907 *pro praefectura mea* A, *praefecturam et* P.

Epid. 231 *crocotulam* A, *crutulam* BJ.

In Nonius 34.10 *everriculum* genus est retis, a verrendo dictum : vel quod trahatur, *vel quod, si quid fuerit piscium nactum, everrat*, the Leyden MS. has rightly *vel quod si quid*, but its direct copy, the Laurentian, has *vel si quid* with omission of *quod*. In 37.17 *qui inscriptum* of the Leyden MS. is copied as *quin scriptum*.

A syllable has been omitted, but not through haplography, by the Laurentian scribe in 198. 6, where he has written *caniculam* for the *canaliculam* of his Leyden original.

(3) of unintelligible word :

Cas. 804 *nām quid illac tam diu intus rémorantur remelignes ?* (A : *om. remelignes* P).

Epid. 95 *at enim — bat enim : nīhil est istuc : plāne hoc corruptūst caput* (A : *om. at enim bat enim* P).

Mil. 205 dexterum. ita vehementer eiecit : quod agit aegre suppetit (A : om. eiecit P).

Truc. 148 copia hic. This was written in *P* *copiae hic* (through misreading the letter *H* of the original, ch. vi. § 1), which has been faithfully copied by *B*, while *CD* leave a blank space after *copiae*.

Poen. 900 Carthagine (A). This was miswritten in *P*, and appears in *CD* as *saragine*, while *B* leaves a blank space.

Asin. 438 trapezitum. This was written in the original *et rapazitum*, and is so reproduced by *B*, while *D* has *et rape* followed by a blank space. In the original of *EJ* it was transcribed in the form *et rapere ita*.

Merc. 687 quamvis. This, the spelling in *A*, was apparently also the form in *P*. In *B* it appears as *quamvis*, but in the original of *CD* as *quam*, with omission of the unintelligible *vis*.

(4) of small, unimportant word :

Truc. 215 verum apud hunc mea era sua consilia summa eloquitur libere (A : om. sua P).

Truc. 216 magisque adeo ei consiliarius hic amicus quam auxiliarius (om. ei A).

Poen. 893 facile. Fac ergo id facile noscam ego, ut ille possit noscere (A : om. ego P).

Pseud. 375 si id non adfert, posse opinor facere me officium meum (A : om. me P).

Cas. 47 postquam ea adolevit ad eam aetatem, ut viris (A : om. ea P) placere posset.

Epid. 225 quid istuc tam mirabile est ? (A : om. tam P).

Mil. 791 itaque eam huc ornatum adducas : ex matronarum modo (A : om. ex P).

Mil. 1138 neminem pol video (P : om. pol A).

In Nonius 38.24 (a line of Lucilius) quidni *et tu* idem inlitteratum me atque idiotam diceret ? the scribe of the Laurentian MS. has omitted *et tu* of its Leyden original ; in 19.2 the scribe of the Harleian MS., a direct copy of the Laurentian, has written *qua* for *in qua*.

(5) of line :

In the original of *CD Trin.* 904 :

haeret haec res, siquidem ego absens sum quam praesens longior, was omitted, the previous line (v. 903) having the same ending *longior*. In the same original the equivalent of a line was omitted in a passage of the *Rudens* (vv. 470-1) from the same cause :

nusquam hercle equidem illam video : ludos me facit.
adponam hercle urnam jam ego hanc in media via,

where *CD* read :

nusquam hercle urnam jam ego hanc in media via,

omitting all the words from *equidem* to the second *hercle*.

Amph. 755 AMPH. Quid nunc, mulier? aúdin illum?

ALC. Ego véro, ac falsum dicere.

AMPH. Néque tu illi neque míhi viro ipsi crédis?

ALC. Eo fit, quía mihi

plúrium credo.

The similar beginning (*ego* and *eo*, ch. v. § 12) of Aleu-
mena's two remarks led to the loss of all the words between
illum and *eo* in the original of *BDEJ*. They are added by
the corrector in *B* (p. 41).

Cas. 570 nam méo quidem animo, qui ádvocatos ádvocet (*A*).

The line is omitted in *P*. The preceding line ends with
advocaverit.

Mil. 852 non hércle tam istoc válide cassabánt cadí.

This line, found in *P*, is omitted in *A*. The preceding
line ends with *sistebant cadí*.

Aut. 426 was omitted in the original of *VEJ*, because it
has the same ending, *caput sentit*, as v. 425.

Epid. 81-85. The repetition of *nunc quo* in these two
lines has led to the omission of the whole intervening passage
in the original of *VEJ*.

Mil. 727-9. The homoeoteleuton and homoeoarchon of
these lines has led to omission, but fortunately not to the
same omission, in the Ambrosian Palimpsest, in the archetype
of our minuscule MSS., and in some early MS. of Nonius,
where this passage is quoted (p. 415 M.) (see the critical
apparatus of the Ritschl edition of this play).

Epid. 415 ends with *divinam domi*; v. 419 with *divinam*
tibi domi. The original of *BVEJ* omitted vv. 416-9, which
have been added in the bottom margin of *B* by the corrector
(p. 41), with a sign *h.p.*, answering to a sign *h.d.* in the text
(cf. p. 35).

(6) of word, through homoeoteleuton :

In Nonius 67. 25 (a passage of Varro) quibus erant
pecuniae satis, locupletis, adsiduos, the similar ending of the

two words *satis* and *locupletis* has caused the scribe of the Laurentian MS. to omit the first, *satis*, though both stand in the Leyden MS., of which the Laurentian is a copy.

The following corrupt lines I would emend on the supposition that their error is the loss of a word by haplography :—

Most. 625 id, <id> volo mihi dici, id me scire expeto.

Capt. 772 nec <quicquam> quoquam homini supplicare nunc certamst mihi.

Pseud. 240 mane, mane : jam ut voles med esse, ita ero. Nunc tú sapis, <nunc tu sapiu's>.

Mil. 754 quid opus fuit hoc <sumpto> sumptu tanto nostra grátia?

Pseud. 1022 si occasionem capsit, qui <sic> sit malus (cf. v. 1130 sic scelestu's).

Most. 445 pultabo. heus, cequis <ist> ist ? aperitin foris ? (*istist* for *isti est*, "is there").

The word *hominis* (written *hois* with a line above, see ch. vii. § 5) may have been lost after *hujus* (*hoius*) in lines like :

Capt. 275 nam ad sapientiam hujus <hominis> nimius nugator fuit.

Capt. 9-10 eumque hinc profugiens vendidit in Álide
patri hujusce <hominis> : jam hoc tene-
tis ? optumest.

Poen. 83 sed illi patruo hujus <hominis>, qui vivit senex.

The word *ego* (often confused with *eo*, ch. v. § 12) may have been lost after *-eo* of *video* in

Most. 1120 sed eccum tui guati sodalem video <ego> huc incedere.

In *Merc.* 319, where old Demipho is excusing himself for falling in love, *A* offers apparently :

humánum amarest atque id vi obtingit deum.

But *P* has :

humanum amarest, humanum autem ignoscere est.

Perhaps the passage originally ran :

humánum amarest, húmanum autem ignóscerest.

humánum (? ego patior), atque id vi obtingit deum.

In the *Menaechmi*, the Latin Comedy of Errors, at v. 278, *P* offers :

Menaechme, salve. Di te amabunt, quisquis ego sim.

But *A* shows two lines of which only the beginnings¹ MENaechM and QVISQVISd are legible. I would restore the lines thus :

Menaéchme, salve. Dī te amabunt, quisquis es.
Quisquis ! deliras. nōn tu scis quis ego siem ?

The eye of the scribe of *P* seems to have wandered from the *quisquis* of v. 278 to the *quis* immediately below, in v. 279. In another passage of the same play (vv. 163 *sq.*) one of the Menaechmi hands the Parasite a cloak, and asks him if he can by smelling it guess who the owner is. After the line :

écquid tu de odóre possis, síquid forte olféceris,

P has the single line :

facere conjecturam captum sit collegium ;

but *A* shows two lines of which only the first half can be read :

FACERECOIECTVRAmCVMi
C'uoisS*ASVtVS.

Here the eye of the scribe of *P* may have wandered from the *conjecturam* of v. 164 to the same or a similar word in v. 165, though no one has yet succeeded in making a satisfactory guess about the intervening words.

In *Truc.* 38, the famous comparison of lovers to fish caught in a net :

dum huc, dum illuc rete† or impedit,

the corruption *or* of the MSS. may be due to a blot having obscured the rest of the word in the original. I would restore to the passage the word *orata*, a goldfish (*Festus* 202 Th.), and read :

dum húc, dum illuc réte *oratas* impedit,

with the same metrical hiatus of *dum* as in *Cas.* 612 of *cum* :

cum hác, cum istae, cúmque amica etiám tua.

The missing word in *Most.* 802 (bacchiac metre) began with *s*. Was it *supersedere* ?

miséricordiá *supersedére* hominem opórtet.

¹ I write in capitals the letters which seem certain.

Aul. 406 (the opening line of the scene) begins in the MSS. with the word *Optati*, which does not suit the sense. Some interjection seems to be required :

“*Optati*” *cives, populares, incolae, accolae, advenae omnes,*
dáte viam qua fugere liceat, facite totae plateae pateant.

I fancy it was *Attatae*, written with a common misspelling *Aptatae* (cf. p. 71) in the archetype, which in the original of our MSS. appeared as *ptatae* or *ptati* (the latter a grammatical correction, ch. i. § 9), with the initial letter left unsupplied by the “rubricator.”

CHAPTER IV

ERRORS OF INSERTION

Insertion of
a gloss,

1. THE sense of the text was in MSS. often elucidated by writing an explanatory word, called a gloss,¹ over the word of the text which required explanation, or occasionally in the side margin. When an omission in the text had to be corrected the same course was taken. The supplied word was written over the word before which it had to be inserted. It might also be written in the margin, in which case a couple of dots were generally put at the place in the text where the insertion was to be made. Small wonder then that a copyist was often at a loss to know whether an inter-linear or marginal jotting should be treated as an explanation or as a supplement. There was still a third possibility, that it might be a correction designed to take the place of something wrongly written in the text; for although the practice of careful scribes in this case was to place dots² under the wrongly written word, syllable, or letter, this precaution was often omitted. A good example of the two wrong treatments of a gloss is found in *Cas.* 517. The line should read:

¹ *Glossa* (Gk. γλῶσσα), sometimes *glosa*, properly meant "a difficult word" (cf. *glossema*), but is often used to mean "the explanation of a difficult word."

² Hence our word "expunge."

cūr amem me cāstigare, id pōnito ad compēdium.

“why do I like punishing myself? Well, we may dispense with the explanation.” In *P* the words *cūr amem me* were wrongly written *curam eme*, and this phrase was in the original of *BIEJ* explained by the suprascript gloss *curam exime*. The scribe of the original of *I'EJ* mistook the gloss for a supplement, and wrote *curam eme curam exime castigare* etc.; the scribe of *B* mistook it for a correction, and wrote *curam exime castigare* etc.

A gloss may have been wrongly inserted from the margin in *Truc. 77 sqq.* :

nam mīhi haec meretrix quae hīc habet, Phronēsium,
suum nōmen omne ex pēctore exmovit meo.

These lines are in the minuscule MSS. followed by an unmetrical line which most editors regard as a marginal gloss of the original :

Phronesium, nam phronesis est sapientia.

Epid. 382 sqq. seems to be a very similar passage :

non óris causa módo homines aequóm fuit
sibi habére speculum, ubi ós contemplarént suom,
sed quí perspicere póssent cordis cópīam,

where the minuscule MSS. insert between *possent* and *cordis copiam* the words *cor sapientiae* (a corruption of *cor sapientia est*; see ch. vii. § 5), *igitur perspicere ut possint*.

2. The insertion of interlinear glosses is especially common. The minuscule MSS. have over and over again inserted in the text small words like *ego*, *tu*, *ut* and the like, which originally were written between the lines, and served the purpose of facilitating the reader's comprehension of the construction of the passage. *Mil. 702* stands thus in *A* :

especially
of small
explanatory
words writ-
ten between
the lines.

sí istam semel amiseris
libertatem, laud fáciie in eundem rúsum restituís locum;

but in the minuscule MSS. the pronoun *te*, originally written between the lines to explain the construction of *restitues*, has found its way into the text—though it still preserves a trace of its adventitious character in that it stands not before but after *in*: *haut facile in te eundem rusum (rursum) restitues locum*. An example from the original of *CD* is *Pseud.* 459:

bene cónfidenterque ádstitisse intéllego,

where *te* stands in *CD* between *confidenterque* and *adstitisse*, and spoils the metre of the line. Another is *Stich.* 450:

est etiam hic óstium
aliúd posticum nóstrarum harunc aédium,

where, for *aliud* of *AB*, in the original of *CD* stood *aliud autem*, again spoiling the metre. The Ambrosian Palimpsest affords a good instance of the insertion of a gloss, in the narrower sense of the word “gloss” (*i.e.* the explanation of a difficult word), in *Truc.* 278:

noctem in stramentis pérnoctare pérpetim,

where it ends the line, not with *perpetim*, as *P* does, but with *perpetim totam*, the second word being clearly an explanation of the O. Lat. adjective *perpetim* (class. Lat. *perpetuam*).

Mention is made of this kind of corruption as early as Galen (xvii. 1 p. 909), who says that the words *οἶον ὁδόνῃ ὁδόνῃν παύει* are not in the MSS. *κατὰ Διοσκορίδην* of Hippocrates: *φαίνεται μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐξηγήσει προσηγραφὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τοῦτοσφιν ἐπὶ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου μετατεθεῖσθαι*.

One of the simplest instances is the insertion of the interjection *o*, which was commonly written above a vocative as a mere indication of the case. This interjection, usually written with an accent-stroke to indicate the length of the vowel, is the origin of our

sign of exclamation (!). It occurs in *B* at *Cist.* 727, etc.

3. Another common cause of insertion is that a word or syllable was wrongly written by a copyist, who then left his miswriting uncorrected (cf. ch. ii. § 2). When a scribe wrote a word wrongly, he would, unless he were an exceptionally conscientious scribe, leave the word as it stood, neither erasing it with a penknife, nor deleting it with strokes through the letters, nor—the usual method of indicating an error in MSS.—putting dots under (sometimes above) the wrongly written letters. He left all that to the “corrector” (p. 41), the senior who revised each MS. after the scribe had finished it, and whose duty it was to make the necessary corrections and supply defective punctuation. A wrongly written word or syllable which escaped the notice of the “corrector” would thus be left to stand side by side with the same word or syllable properly written

Miswriting
left uncorrected,

There is a curious instance of this in the Nonius MSS. All our MSS. of Nonius have at the end of the paragraph on *Mictilis* (p. 137 M.) the inexplicable word *meri*. The next paragraph is headed by the word *Maestaret*, written in the MSS. *mertaret*; and the explanation of the intrusion of *meri* is simply this:—The scribe of the archetype, who read *mestaret* of his original as *mertaret*, changed his mind as he was copying the fourth letter and determined to write the word with *rt* in ligature, since the word in his original was written with a ligature—the ligature *st*, which in MSS. is often hardly distinguishable from the ligature *rt* (ch. vi. § 1). Thanks to his negligence in leaving his unfinished word as it stood, with the fourth letter wanting its cross-stroke, this adventitious *meri* has kept its place in all subsequent copies, to the bewilderment of editors.

In *Mil.* 203, where *A* reads rightly

ecce avortit: nixus laevo in femine habet laevam manum,

the minuscule MSS. preserve an error of some early scribe, who first wrote *autem* for *avortit*, and then, immediately discovering his mistake, did not expunge *autem* but merely added *avortit* in its proper form. They read :

ecce autem avortit nisis leva in femina habet levam manum.

Before the discovery of the Ambrosian Palimpsest editors corrected the manifest corruption *leva in femina* to *laevo in femine*, but did not venture to remove *autem*, preferring to explain the scansion of the line by an unlikely theory that *avortit* might be pronounced as a disyllable in Plautus. In *Mil.* 187 the word written correctly after the miswritten word has unfortunately become assimilated to it, and so we find in all the minuscule MSS. :

ut eum qui hic se vidit verbis vineta vinetane esse viderit,
where *A* gives the true reading :

ut eum, qui se hic vidit, verbis vineat, ne is se viderit.

In *Truc.* 289 the error is harder to detect, because it is only a syllable which has been wrongly written and allowed to stand. The syllable *fo* of *foras*, in the phrase *ad foras*, has been first written *eo* (on the confusion of *f* and *e* see ch. vi. § 1), so that *ad foras* (for which *A* gives, probably rightly, *ad foris*) appears in the minuscule MSS. as *adeo foras*.

a very frequent source of corruption in MSS.

This is an error whose ravages in the text of Plautus, and indeed of all Latin authors, have not, I think, been sufficiently realised. In *Pseud.* 1187 the reading of *P*,

quid domino quid socii quid somniatis mea quidem haec
habeo omnia,

was taken by Ritschl as proof that two lines had been fused into one by some such error as caused the fusion into one of *Men.* 165-6 and 278-9, already quoted (p. 52). But it is much more naturally explained as a case of a miswriting, *quid socii* for *quid somniatis*, which was not corrected, but was left to stand side by side with the true reading. Unfortunately we cannot

decipher the whole line in *A*, but its beginning is plain :

QVIDDOMINOQVIDSOMNIA,

and there is little doubt that the true form of the line is :

quid ? domino ? quid sómniatis ? méa quidem hæc habeo
omnia.

4. A special phase of this error is known as Ditto-^{Ditto-}graphy, where the mistake which has been left un-^{graphy.}corrected consisted in the writing of a word twice. The word *inde* in *Capt.* 490, for example, is wrongly repeated in *OJ*, *inde inde* : the syllable *te* of *advorte* (*Pseud.* 277) in *A*, which reads *advortite* (cf. ch. v. § 8). Dittography is, however, not nearly so common an error in MSS. as haplography (ch. iii. § 1). The commonest case is the repetition at the end of a word of the letter that begins the following word, e.g. *quissim* for *qui sim* (*quisim*). A complicated example of dittography in the ancient MS. of Cicero *de Republica* is SECUTUTUSECUTUS for *secutus* (ii. 33. 57).

Dittography of a word (or letter) most naturally occurs at the end of one page and the beginning of the next. Two MSS. of the *Liber Glossarum* reproduce not merely the pagination of their original but also this error, *in inteatro* for *in theatro*, where the one *in* stands in the copies, as it did in the original, at the end of one page, and the other *in* at the beginning of the next (see Goetz *Lib. Gl.* p. 223). Dittography of a letter is also a common occurrence in the transition from one line to another, e.g. *Corneliuano* for *Corneliana* in the Leyden MS. of Nonius (188 M. 24), where the three last letters stand at the beginning of a new line.

5. Finally, it should be noticed that not merely a gloss but any jotting in the margin (or elsewhere) may find its way into the text. Thus the words *huc usque*, which often appear in the margin of MSS.—sometimes

Insertion
of any
marginal
jotting.

to show how far a "corrector" (or copyist) has gone, sometimes as an indication of the end of a quotation or special passage in the text¹—have been repeatedly inserted in the text of a thirteenth-century MS. of Aulus Gellius (see Hertz's Introduction p. lvii).

Caput (also written *Kaput*, or merely .c.), a marginal adscript indicating the beginning of a new paragraph, has found its way into the text of our MSS. of Nonius Marcellus at p. 48 M. 27, where a paragraph ends: *idem populus caput*. The Leyden MS. of Nonius ends a paragraph (p. 108 M. 9) with *oppido .c.* (see *Philologus* 1896 p. 167).

Other marginal adscripts of common occurrence in MSS. are: *requirere*,² *qu[aere]*, *d[ic]est*, *nota* (often written *no* with a stroke above, like the contraction for *nomen* and occasionally for *non*, p. 76), *nota bene*, and expressions of admiration like *nire*, *optime*. Index words, showing the contents of paragraphs, were often written in the margin. For example, in the margin of the Laurentian codex of Nonius Marcellus, opposite the paragraph (86 M. 10): *Caecuttunt*. Varro Gerontodidasealo: "utrum oculi mei caecuttunt? An ego vidi servos in armis contra dominos?" is written the index-heading *Cecuttunt*, *lippunt*. In the Harleian copy of this MS. this marginal adscript has been treated as if it formed

¹ Here are some instances of the phrase. In a Bodleian tenth-century MS. of Bede (Laud. Misc. 159) the words *usque hic requis[itum] est* stand on the margin of fol. 71 r; and no corrections or glosses occur on the following pages. Similarly a tenth-century MS. of St. Augustine in the Vatican Library (Pal. Lat. 202) has on fol. 73 r, in the top corner of the page, *usque hic*, and on fol. 175 v, at the foot of the page, *huc usque repleti*. A Monte Cassino MS. (No. 491), containing a life of St. Remigius, has on fol. 57 v *usque hic scripti*. We have the other use of *huc usque* in *D* in the *Pseudolus*, where at the first line of the letter of Phoenicium (v. 51) there is in the margin *Epistola*, and at the last line (v. 73) *huc usque*.

² *R.* for *require* is often found in the margin opposite a corruption in the text, whether placed there by the scribe himself, by the corrector, or by a subsequent scribe who made a copy of the MS. It has, however, other uses. Thus in a Bodleian MS. of Sidonius (Hatton 98), opposite *ludibus imperatoris* of the text, we find in the margin (fol. 118 r) *require huius imperatoris nomen*; opposite *Britannus* (sic) of the text stands in the margin (fol. 118 v) *require de Britannis*.

the first part of the line (beginning with *oculi*) opposite which it stood in the margin, and the passage is copied in this way: Caecuttiunt. Varro Gerontodidascalo: "utrum caecuttiunt lippiunt oculi mei caecuttiunt" etc. The same Harleian MS. has sometimes incorporated in the text the marginal adscript *quere* (written in contracted form) of its Florentine original. The *quae* inserted curiously into sentences (e.g. 107. 27 *incideret quae in mortis malum*; 114. 25 Cicero *Tusculanarum quae lib. v*) in the copy is nothing but a misreading of this contraction (cf. p. 96 below).

On the insertion of a syllable in cases of substitution like *considero* for *consido*, see ch. v. § 8.

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Additional examples of insertion:—

(1) Of gloss:

- Capt.* 85 prolátis rebus párasiti venátici [*canes*]
sumus: quándo res rediére, tum molóssici.
Mil. 797 quásique hunc anulúm faviæ suæ [*ancillæ*] déderit,
ea porró mihi.
Amph. 692 dúdum! quam dudum ístue factumst! Témpas:
jam dudúm [*pridem*], modo.
Trin. 350 mínus, pater. sed civi immuni [*immunifico*] scín quid
cantarí solet?
Pseud. 534 quin te ín pistrinum cóndam! Non unum [*quidem*]
ín diem [*modo*],
verum hèrele in omnis, quántumst.
Pseud. 542 quis me audácior
sít, si ístue facinus aúdeam? immo síc, Simo.

After *audcam* *B* has *facere*, (*D*) have *dicere*. In the archetype apparently *audcam* was glossed by *facere vel dicere*.

Pseud. 1022 si occásionem [*ceperit*] cápsit, qui sic sít malus.

(2) Miswriting left uncorrected:

- Pseud.* 484 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ (cetuton kaito itone gras *P*). Here
the Greek words *καὶ τοῦτο* were written first in
Latin, then in Greek form.
Trin. 648 *praeoptasvisti* (*A*) for *praeoptavisti*.
Truc. 421 postíd ego [*totum*] tecum, mēa voluptas, úsque ero.
Truc. 566 haec quóm video [*si*] fieri, suffúror, suppílo.
Amph. 37 quippe [*in*] illi iniqui jús ignorant néque tenent.

(3) Insertion of marginal jotting :

Pseud. 445 SIMO. Quis hic lóquitur ? meus hic ést quidem servos
Pseudólus.

For *quis* we find in the minuscule MSS. *siquis*, the *si* being taken from the "nota personae" *Si(mo)*. (For other examples see Leo's note on *Poen.* 474.)

(4) Dittography :

The Laurentian MS. of Nonius supplies us with an instance of dittography like that mentioned on p. 32. The scribe has miscopied the *se loco potuerant* (107 M. 2?) of his Leyden original as *se loco se potuerant*, with dittography of *se*.

I suspect that a gloss has been inserted in the following passages :

Cupt. 479 "sálvete," inquam. "quo ímus una !" inquam [*ad prandium*]. atque illí tacent.

Truc. 863 mé videre vís et me te [*amare*] póstulas, puerúm petis.

Truc. 651 quaerít patrem : dico ésse in urbe, intérrigo.
[*quid cum relít*]
homó cruminam síbi de collo détrahit, etc.

In the following I see (with Spengel) a miswriting left uncorrected :

Truc. 423 [*quin*] his hódie sacrificáre pro pueró volo
quintó die quod fieri oportet. Cénseo.

(The scribe had begun to copy v. 424, *quinto* etc.)

The second *neque* in *Most.* 452 may be either a gloss or a miswriting of the following *qui* :

nátus nemo in aédibus
servát, neque qui reclúdat, [*neque*] qui respóndeat.

CHAPTER V

ERRORS OF SUBSTITUTION

1. We have seen in the last chapter that a gloss, or explanatory word, written in the original MS. over a difficult word, has often in the copy been inserted in the text. In many cases it has been substituted for the word which it was designed to explain (cf. p. 54). Thus in Virgil *E.* vi. 40:

rara per *ignaros* errent animalia montis,

the *ignotos*, which is in some MSS. substituted for *ignaros*, seems to be nothing but an explanation of the unusual passive sense of *ignaros*: and its appearance in the text is due to the error of some copyist, who found in his original:

ignotos
rara per *ignaros* errent animalia montis,

and who wrongly imagined that the purpose with which *ignotos* had been written above *ignaros* was to correct a mistake and not to explain a difficult term.

The suprascript gloss was often preceded by the contraction *i·* or *id* with cross-stroke through *d*, standing for *id est*. In *Capt.* 832, a line quoted by Nonius as an instance of the adverb *assulatim*, "in splinters," from *assula*, "a splinter":

priusquam pultando ássulatim fóribus exitium ádfero.

we find *assulatim* replaced in the minuscule MSS. by the two words *vel assullatim*. This may have been a suprascript gloss, but was more probably a suprascript variant reading. For a variant or emendation was usually preceded by *vel*, written *vl* with cross-stroke through *l* (often mistaken for *ut*), or *l* with cross-stroke (so here in *B*), or else by *al.*, standing for *alter* or *aliter* or *alius codex*.¹ In *Asin.* 670 this sign *al.* is miscopied ADOL(*escens*) in *D*.

The practice of writing interlinear and marginal glosses was a very old one; and the substitution of the explanation for the explained word is often of very early date. In the description of the greedy guests in *Mil.* 762 *P* has :

séd procellunt se ét procumbunt dimidiati dum appetunt,

a line which scans perfectly, and has nothing about it to excite suspicion, were it not that it recurs fifteen lines below, having been rewritten, probably in the bottom margin of the page in the proto-archetype (see above, p. 35), in this form :

sed procumbunt in mensam dimidiati petunt,

perhaps originally *séd procumbunt séd in mensam dum dimidiati petunt* (or *dimidiati dum appetunt*). Now in the dictionary of Festus we find the old word *procellunt* explained by *procumbunt*, though in another passage of the same dictionary this line is quoted as *séd procumbunt in mensam*. This makes one suspect that the line as written by Plautus was :

séd procellunt séd² in mensam dimidiati dum appetunt,

and that *procumbunt* is a gloss on *procellunt se in mensam*, which at an early period found its way into the text.

¹ Thus on the margin of a Bodleian ninth-century MS. of St. Augustine (Laud. Misc. 120) we find on fol. 13 *v* SICVT IN ALIO CODICE, on fol. 16 *r* ALTER CODEN ALITER HABET; in the Harleian Nonius (ad 74 M. 5) alter "apeditones."

² Class. Lat. *sc.* Both *séd* the conjunction and *séd* the O. Lat. pronoun might be written *set* (see p. 21), whence perhaps the mistake *se et*.

In early dictionaries, or "glossaries,"¹ as they are called, the stock interpretation of O. Lat. *oro tecum* is *rogo te*. This gloss has ousted the Plautine word in *A* in *Most.* 682, where *P* begins the line rightly with *bonum acquomque oras*, but *A* destroys the metre with *bonum acquomque rogas*. The same gloss appears in *P* in *Pers.* 321, a line which in *A* ends with *quod mecum dudum orasti*, but in *P* with *quod me dudum rogasti*.

2. The substitution of the classical for an archaic form, discussed in chap. i, e.g. *illic* for *illi* adv., may often be really the substitution of a suprascript or marginal gloss. Thus in *Amph.* 631 the original of *BDEJ* seems to have had, like *B*, the Plautine adverb *simitu*, "together," in the text explained by *simul* in the margin. This *simitu* is retained by *E*, but *simul* is substituted for it in *J*, while the scribe of *D* wrote first *simitu*, then changed it to *simul*.

of classical
for archaic
form.

3. This is the best place for mentioning a common cause of corruption in MSS., namely the wrong treatment by the copyist of a correction which he found in his original. In *Amph.* 1083 the original of *BDEJ* had *mea*, rightly corrected to *meorum* in this way:

Wrong treat-
ment of cor-
rection in
original

mea. But none of the copies has got the word correctly. *B* has *meorum*, *D* *morum*, while the common original of *EJ*, another copy of the original of *BD*, had *mea*.

Mistakes of this kind are usually the best evidence of the derivation of one MS. from another. The Harleian MS. of Nonius is proved to be a copy of the Laurentian codex by proofs of this sort, as well as other evidence. For example, the strange reading *baretere* (for *baetere*) of the Harleian in Nonius 77 M. 19 is clearly due to a misconception of the correction in the Laurentian, ^a*bretere*; its *maulta* (for *multa*)

is good evi-
dence of de-
rivation of
one MS.
from
another.

¹ The "Glossary of Placidus" is especially useful to the student of the text of Plautus, for it contains a number of the difficult words of Plautus with their explanations. There is a recent edition of it by Goetz in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* vol. v.

in 103 M. 25 is explained by the ^{ul} *nata* of the older codex; its *laum* (for *lanitium*) in 212 M. 20 is due to a mistaking of the transposition signs for deleting signs in the *lacinium* corrected to *lanicium* of its original (cf. p. 32).

Substitution
of word from
context,

4. A scribe often substituted for the true word a word from the immediate context, in a temporary aberration of mind. In Cicero *Orator* § 98, for example, *acuteque* has been substituted for *arguteque*; and if we seek for the cause, we find it in the previous occurrence of the word *acuto* in the sentence: *qui in illo subtili et acuto elaboravit, ut callide arguteque diceret.*

from parallel
passage

5. Often the substituted word comes from a parallel passage, which was in the mind of the scribe as he was writing. In Propertius ii. 1. 58:

solus amor morbi non habet artificem,

has been written *non amat artificem*, through a reminiscence of i. 2. 8:

nudus amor formae non amat artificem.

(On this error see also ch. i. § 14.)

of ecclesiastical or
biblical
words.

6. The mediaeval scribes were monks; so it is not surprising that the parallel passage that occurred to their minds was often a passage from the Bible. A well-known example is Horace *C.* iii. 18. 11-12:

festus in pratis vacat otioso

cum bove pagus,

where a whole class of MSS. substitutes *pardus* for *pagus*, the scribe of their common original having allowed his thoughts to revert to the passage of Isaiah (xi. 6): *habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum haedo accubabit.* Other substitutions that tell of monk-copyists are mentioned below.

Confusion of
similar
words

7. But the most widely extended error of substitution is the confusion of words that are similar in appearance. Many cases of this confusion really

belong to chap. vi (Confusion of Letters) or chap. vii (Confusion of Contractions); for the substitution in a Latin MS. of *lubet* for *jubet* (*iubet*) means that the copyist has mistaken the letter *i* for the letter *l* (see ch. vi. § 1), and the substitution of *quidem* for *quid est* means that he has wrongly expanded the contraction *ē* (see ch. vii. § 2). Again, the substitution of *tribus* for *tribubus* is, properly speaking, a case of Haplography (see ch. iii. § 1); and so on. But it will be convenient for practical purposes to treat in this chapter all cases of the confusion of words, whatever the secret influence may have been. In most cases it is merely the general similarity of the words that has caused the mistake, e.g. *militia* for *malitia*. Here too the monk-copyist often betrays himself. In Horace MSS., for example, he has substituted *amen* for *amem* with comical result in *C.* iii. 9. 24:

tecum vivere *amem*, tecum obeam libens ;

similarly *externa pacata* becomes *aeterna peccata*, *Hebrum* is transformed to *Hebraeum*, etc.

In Plautus MSS. the case is common of an archaic word, unfamiliar to the scribe, having been replaced by a familiar word of similar appearance; e.g. *fuant* (*B*), the subj. of *O.* Lat. *fuo* (whence *fui*), has become *fiant* in *Pseud.* 1029 (*U*). Such substitution, however, is rather a case of deliberate emendation, and belongs to chap. i.

8. Very commonly the substituted word differs from the genuine word in the insertion of a syllable. Thus *infamia* becomes *in familia* (e.g. in MSS. of Livy xlv. 38. 10), *consido* becomes *considero*. We must excuse such mistakes when we consider that a mediaeval scribe was in the habit of finding in his originals contractions like *aii* for *anima*, and syllables like *er*, *us* etc. expressed by shorthand signs (see ch. vii. § 1) which were often very faint and hardly

often
through
insertion or
omission of
syllable,

discernible. The opposite error, of omitting a syllable, by which, for example, *periratus* has become *piratus* in *Truc.* 656, has been already mentioned in ch. iii. § 10.

Diminutives, it should be noticed, are often confused with the simple word; e.g. *serrolus* becomes *serrus* (*Asin.* Arg. 4), *primulo* becomes *primo* (*Cas.* 40), *saccum* becomes *sacculum* (*Capt.* 90). Similarly frequentatives with simple verbs, e.g. *clamo* and *clamo* (cf. *Most.* 6); and 2 sg. with 2 pl. imperat., e.g. *intercludite* for *interclude* (*Mil.* 223; see Leo's note).

often due to
Late Latin
pronuncia-
tion.

9. Special attention must be called to one cause of the confusion of words, namely Late Latin pronunciation. In Late Latin, for example, *sei* and *si* had a similar pronunciation, as we see from Italian, e.g. Ital. *scimmi* for Lat. *simia* (cf. *scimia* for *simia* in our minuscule MSS. in *Mil.* 179). To a scribe *sis* and *scis*, *sitis* and *scitis* were more or less equivalent forms, and the *sei*-forms of the original might appear as *si*-forms in the copy and *vice versa*. So with *see* and *se*, e.g. *quiesce* and *quiesse*. Again, the diphthong *ae* had come to be a simple vowel like *e*; and a scribe wrote *equus* for *aequus* of the original as readily as we might write "gaol" for "jail." The coincidence of the pronunciation of *b* and *v* made *benefica* and *venefica* equivalents (cf. *Epid.* 221, where *veneficam* is in the Palimpsest *beneficam*), and led to the coining of a new word for "sorceress," viz. *malefica*. *H* was dropped in pronunciation, and so its presence or absence in writing was a matter of little importance; *abeo* is substituted for *habeo*, *ortus* for *hortus*. It would depend on the amount of education a Carolingian copyist had received and on the amount of attention he paid to his text-books of orthography whether he left Late Latin misspellings untouched or altered them to the classical form. But it is seldom safe to take such spellings in Carolingian MSS. as *e*, *ae*, and *oe*; *ch*, *ph*, *th*, and *e*, *p*,

t in words like *letum*, *Bacchus* : *y* and *i* : *ti* and *ci* before a vowel ; *j* and *ph*, as evidence that this or that spelling was found in the original MS. Much more is this true of varieties of spelling which we ourselves regard as legitimate alternatives, such as *quidquid* and *quicquid*, *nunquam* and *numquam*, *tingo* and *tinguo*, *conjuæ* and *conjuæ*, *-clum* and *-culum*, and the assimilation or non-assimilation of a preposition in compound verbs, e.g. *inlicio* and *illicio* ; though of course one scribe differed greatly from another in the fidelity with which the exact spelling of the original was reproduced.

In chap. i these Late Latin misspellings have been mentioned, in so far as they led to a wrong correction on the part of Carolingian scribes. Here we are concerned rather with misspellings which had the form of other words and so remained uncorrected. For a fuller account of them I refer the reader to Schuchardt *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, and content myself here with enumerating a few of the more notable kinds:

(1) **a for au** (cf. Late Lat. *Agustus* for *Augustus*, Ital. *Agosto*). Hence substitutions like *catus* for *cautus* (cf. *Mil.* 603 *catalogos* for *cautela locus*), *fastus* for *faustus*.

(2) **b for v, v for b**.—Hence confusions of *velle* and *velle*, *abeo* and *aveho*, *jubet* and *juvet*, *-bit* and *-vit*, *hibo* and *rivo*.

In *Truc.* 141 *Veneris publicum* is in *B* bene republicum, which has been changed in *CD* to *benè rempublicam*.

(For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

(3) **c for ch, c for q, ci and ti before a vowel**.—Hence *condum* and *quondam* are confused (cf. *postquam* for *poscam* *Mil.* 836) ; *mecum* is written for *moechum*, etc. *ch* came in parts of the Roman world (e.g. Italy) to represent the "hard" or normal sound of *c*, while the letter *c* was used for "soft" or palatalized *c* (cf. Ital. *chi* for Lat. *qui* and *ci*). The spelling *ka* for *ca*, recommended by some Latin grammarians, was much affected by Carolingian scribes (e.g. *kaput*, p. 60).

(For examples of *c* for *ch* in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

(4) **e and ae, oe.**—Hence confusions of *ferē* and *ferae*, *cedo* and *caedo*, *queror* and *quaero*, *equus* and *aquus*, *atque* (*adque*) and *ad quae*, *merens* and *maerens*, *letum* and *laetum*.

(For examples of the confusion of *e* and *ae* in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

(5) **e for i.**—In the Medicean MS. of Virgil we find the spelling *aymena* (*A.* i. 490 ; ii. 683). In Livy ii. 59. 7 *aymen e castris* has been wrongly changed to *aymine castris* by some scribe who thought it a misspelling like that of the Medicean Virgil. So in Tac. *Hist.* v. 2 *nomen e suo* has been wrongly corrected to *nomine suo*.

(For examples in *A*, e.g. *Stich.* 625 *emmortales*, see Studemund's Index.)

(6) **f for ph.**—(For *exx.* in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

(7) **h dropped or added.**—Lat. *h* ceased to be sounded (cf. Ital., French, etc.), and so was on the one hand dropped in writing, or on the other wrongly added. Hence confusions of *hostium* and *ostium*, *hortus* and *ortus*, *habeo* and *abeo*, *hos* and *os*, *his* and *is*, *honor* and *onus*, *honestus* and *onustus*, etc.

(For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

(8) **i (and e) prefixed to initial sc, sp, st.**—Hence confusions of *i(n)specto* and *specto*, *e(x)specto* and *specto*, etc.

(9) **i for ii.**—The pronunciation of *ii* as *yi* or *i* may have had something to do with the substitution of *regis* for *regiis*, *sin* for *si in*, *sit* for *si il (it)*, etc. So *hostiis* takes the place of *hostis*, *coloniis* of *colonis*, etc. On *his* for (*h*)*iis* see p. 22.

(10) **m inserted** in words like *volu(m)ptas*. Hence the frequent confusion of *voluptas* with *voluntas* in MSS.

(11) **m dropped.**—Hence confusion of abl. sg. with acc. sg. of 3rd decl., e.g. *patre* for *patrem*. The error is often due to the neglect of the shorthand sign for *m* (ch. vii. § 1).

(12) **n dropped** before *s* etc., e.g. *istruo* for *instruo*. This omission of *n*, which may in some cases be due to the neglect of the shorthand sign for the letter (ch. vii. § 1), has led to substitutions like *struo* for *instruo*, etc., the seeming *istruo* being deemed a misspelling of *struo* (cf. no. 8, above). Thus in Cic. *Nat. Deor.* i. 1 *scientium* is substituted for *inscientium*. The endings *-us* and *-ans*, *-es* and *-ens* are often confused.

(13) **o for ŭ, o for -um.**—Hence the confusion of *creatur* and *creator*, *ductus* and *doctus*, etc.

(For examples in *A* of *o* for *u* see Studemund's Index, e.g. *Most.* 794 *nom* for *num*.)

(14) **p for ph.**

(15) **si, se for sci, sce.**—This was a result of the palatalization of *c* before *e*, *i*, and led to substitutions like *quiesce* for *quiesce*.

(16) **tt (t) for ct, pt** (cf. Late Lat. *autor* for *auctor*, Ital. *otto*, *sette* for *octo*, *septem*). Hence, e.g., *littoris* for *lectoris*. *Attatae* of *Cas.* 478 is written *aptate* in *E*.

(17) **t for th.**—(For exx. in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

(On the older confusion of *-d* and *-t* in pronunciation, whence confusions like *haut* (*haut*) and *aut*, *quod* and *quot*, *nequid* and *nequit*, see p. 21).

(18) **s for x.**—Hence confusions like *auxerint* and *hau-serint*, *auxi* and *ausi*. Mistakes like *exiit* for *haec sit* (Caesar *B.G.* iv. 7. 3), *fac sit* for *faxit* (Ter. *Phorm.* 554) are to be referred to the practice, prevalent in the Empire, of using *cs* for *x*. Another spelling was *ce*, e.g. *uexor*. On the early spelling *xs* for *x* see p. 108.

(19) **i and y.**—(For exx. in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

(20) **Double letter for single and vice versa.**—This leads to confusions of words like *callidus* and *calidus*, *errat* and *erat*, *reddit* and *redit*.

10. Misspellings and confusions of words often give us a clue to the home of the archetype of a MS. Thus the use of a double consonant for a single is perhaps especially frequent in MSS. written by Irish scribes; for in the Irish language a single consonant flanked with vowels had come to have a spirant sound, while the true consonant-sound was retained only by the double consonant.

A clue to
home of
archetype.

Similarly the use of *f* for *c* has been thought to indicate a German original (cf. Germ. *Vater*, pronounced "fater"). In the Lombard script a separate sign was sometimes used for

ti before a vowel (where the *t* was palatalized or assibilated) and before a consonant (where *t* retained its ordinary sound). So the absence of confusion between *ci* and *ti* may indicate an Italian original (see Mommsen's edition of Solinus, preface p. civ, Berl. 1895). A peculiarity of Spanish MSS. is the spelling *quum* for *cum*; and other "Spanish" misspellings are *d* for *t* in words like *territorium* for *territorium*, *g* for *c* in words like *vindigare* for *vincicare*; while forms like *tenire*, *invinire* are called "Frankish" (see Hauler in *Sitzber. Wien. Akad.* 1888, p. 2 n.)

(On "Spanish" misspellings see Muñoz y Rivero *Paleografia Visigoda* 1881 p. 104; and on "Irish" misspellings Zimmer *Glossae Hibernicae* prolegg. p. xi.)

Mediaeval
MSS. not
written to
dictation.

11. Substitutions of this kind, it should be noticed, do not imply that the scribe wrote to dictation. Dictation of MSS. was practised in ancient times, and came again into use when the book-trade revived. But so long as the writing of books remained in the hands of monks, who were not intent upon turning out a large number of copies of the same work, but rather on making a single copy for their own Monastery Library, dictation was unknown. Usually the copy had to be made as quickly as possible from a MS. lent for the purpose from another monastery. In such a case a number of monks might be set to work on it at the same time, if the book was divisible into parts, so that dictation would be out of the question. All that we can learn of the Monastery Scriptorium suggests to us rather a room where a number of copyists sat in silence, each engaged on a different task. Witness the lines of Alcuin, which may have stood on the wall of the Scriptorium of St. Martin's Monastery at Tours:

hic sedeant sacrae scribentes famina legis,
nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata patrum.
his interserere caveant sua frivola verba,
frivola ne propter erret et ipsa manus, etc.;

also the description of the Scriptorium at Tournai : si claustrum ingredereris, videres plerumque xii monachos juvenes in cathedris sedentes, et super tabulas diligenter et artificiose compositas *cum silentio scribentes*. In fact we are told of an elaborate code of signs being in use in the scriptorium to prevent the silence being broken. A monk who wished to be supplied with a pagan work scratched his ear like a dog ; if he wished a missal he made the sign of a cross ; and so on.

These errors of substitution then in mediaeval MSS. are rather mistakes of eye than mistakes of ear.¹

LIST OF SIMILAR WORDS

12. Here is a list of words commonly confused in the MSS. of Plautus and other Latin authors :

<i>ab</i> and <i>ob</i> , e.g. <i>Mil.</i> 1178.	<i>ago</i> and <i>aio</i> , very freq., e.g. <i>Merc.</i> 448, <i>Poen.</i> 346 (see Keller ad <i>Hor. Epp.</i> i. 7. 22).
<i>ab-</i> and <i>ad-</i> , e.g. <i>abduco</i> and <i>adduco</i> , <i>Pseud.</i> 1155, 1198 ; <i>aversus</i> and <i>adversus</i> , <i>Virg. G.</i> i. 218.	<i>aliquod</i> and <i>aliquot</i> (passim).
<i>abco</i> , <i>habco</i> (passim), and <i>aveho</i> , e.g. <i>Men.</i> 852, <i>Mil.</i> 938, <i>Circ.</i> 553.	<i>alius</i> and <i>avus</i> , e.g. <i>Pseud.</i> 633.
<i>ac</i> , <i>hac</i> , freq., and <i>hanc</i> , e.g. <i>Men.</i> 825.	<i>allēgo</i> and <i>alligo</i> , e.g. <i>Amph.</i> 674.
<i>actus</i> and <i>acutus</i> , e.g. <i>Mil.</i> 1397.	<i>amabo</i> and <i>ambo</i> , e.g. <i>Cas.</i> 393, <i>Most.</i> 467, <i>Poen.</i> 1211.
<i>ad</i> (see <i>ab-</i>) and <i>at</i> .	<i>amores</i> and <i>mores</i> , e.g. <i>Mil.</i> 1377.
<i>addit</i> and <i>adit</i> , freq., e.g. <i>Most.</i> 107 (<i>aditur</i> for <i>additur</i>).	<i>arca</i> and <i>arca</i> .
<i>adducand adhuc</i> , e.g. <i>Pseud.</i> 389.	<i>arcem</i> and <i>artem</i> .
<i>adesse</i> and <i>ad se(se)</i> , e.g. <i>Most.</i> 490.	<i>arguo</i> and <i>urg(u)eo</i> .
<i>aeque</i> and <i>atque</i> , e.g. <i>Mil.</i> 776.	<i>atque</i> for <i>atqui</i> , e.g. <i>Cas.</i> 700.
<i>aequus</i> and <i>equus</i> (passim).	<i>au-</i> and <i>aut</i> , e.g. <i>aufugio</i> and <i>aut fugio</i> , <i>Pseud.</i> 1035.
<i>aere</i> and <i>erae</i> , e.g. <i>Stich.</i> 361.	<i>audco</i> and <i>audio</i> , e.g. <i>Men.</i> 852.
<i>agedum</i> and <i>agendum</i> , e.g. <i>Merc.</i> 149.	<i>aut</i> and <i>haud</i> (<i>haut</i>), very freq., e.g. <i>Mil.</i> 1427.
	<i>belle</i> and <i>velle</i> , e.g. <i>Most.</i> 806.
	<i>bellus</i> and <i>vellus</i> .

¹ Some regard the omission of a final vowel in elision in poetry as a proof that a manuscript has been written to dictation ; e.g. *Virg. A.* xi. 396 *mexperti* for *me experti*. But the error here is rather the error of haplography (ch. iii. § 3), and other cases admit of other explanations.

bibo and *vivo*, freq., e.g. *Truc.* 367.
bis and *vis*.
bonis and *nobis*.
bonus and *novus*.

caedo and *cedo* (passim).
calidus and *callidus*, freq., e.g.

Epid. 256.

captivus and *captus*.

catus and *cautus*.

certe and *recte*.

cibi and *civi*.

citus and *scitus*, e.g. *Pseud.* 748.

civis and *tuns*.

clamas and *damus*, e.g. *Most.* 588.

co- and *cō*, freq.

coloniis and *colonis*.

condam and *quondam*.

conscia and *conscientia*.

cui and *qui*, freq., e.g. *Mil.* 995;

and *cujus*, freq., e.g. *Hor.*

C. ii. 4. 14.

cum and *cum*, e.g. *Bacch.* 398,
Truc. 230.

damus (see *clamas*).

de- and *di-*, very freq., e.g.

dimoveo and *demoveo*, *Hor.*

C. i. 1. 13; *descendo* for
discindo, *Mil.* 1395.

[One of Alcuin's Letters to
 Charlemagne deals with
 the difficulty of deciding
 between *de-* and *di-*
 forms, e.g. *despicere* and
dispicere (*Epist.* 162 in
Mon. Germ. Hist. : Epist.
 vol. iv).]

decere and *dicere*, e.g. *Merc.* 79.

dedi and *dedo*, e.g. *Asin.* 428.

desero, *desidero*, and *desiderio*,
 e.g. *Capt.* 145, 436.

dici and *diei*, e.g. *Capt.* 56.

dicite and *di te*, e.g. *Pseud.* 122.

dico and *duco*, freq., e.g. *Capt.* 151.

In Nonius 12. 16 *ducitur* of
 the Leyden MS. is copied
dicitur in the Laurentian.

diurnus and *diuturnus*.

doctus and *ductus*, e.g. *Capt.* 787.

domo and *modo*, freq., e.g. *Mil.*

Arg. i. 13, 484; *Men.* 803;

Stich. 623 (*A*); *Virg. A.* x.

141.

ego, *co*, *ero*, and *ergo*, freq., e.g.

Pseud. 240, 914; *Mil.* 380,

1339 (see Leo's note on *Truc.*

711).

egomet and *ego et*, e.g. *Mil.* 1375.

ei and *et*, freq., e.g. *Mil.* 1429.

eidem and *fidem*.

em, *hem*, and *est*, e.g. *Asin.*

323, 358.

emi and *mi* (*mihi*), e.g. *Merc.* 106.

erat and *errat*, e.g. *Most.* 952.

es and *est*, freq., e.g. *Pseud.* 387.

esse and *sese*, freq., e.g. *Pseud.*
 701, 750.

esset and *es sed*.

est and *et*.

est and *esse*, freq., e.g. *Amph.* 884.

et and *sed* (*set*), e.g. *Mil.* 1377

(after a word ending in -s).

et and *ut*.

Thus in Nonius 79. 17 (a line of
 Varro): *dehinc bipennis*
ut levis passerculus, the
 Laurentian MS., a copy
 of the Leyden MS., has
et for *ut* of its original.

etiam and *et clam*, e.g. *Merc.* 545.

cum (see *cum*).

excipio and *cipio*, e.g. *Aul.* 775.

exemplo and *extemplo*, e.g. *Asin.*
 389; *Mil.* 890.

In Nonius 90. 11 the scribe
 of the Laurentian has
 wrongly copied *exemplo*
 instead of *extemplo* of
 his original, the Leyden
 codex.

faciam for *fac sciam*, e.g. *Pseud.*
 696.

facio and *fio*.

facile for *facete*, e.g. *Mil.* 1141, 1161.

fastus and *faustus*.

faverit and *fuverit*.

fere and *ferre*, freq., e.g. *Capt.* 105, *Epid.* 329.

tingo and *tingo*.

fit and *sit*, freq., e.g. *Cas.* 404.

fluit and *fruit*.

flumina and *fulmina*, e.g. *Virg. A.* iv. 250.

fors and *sors*, e.g. *Hor. S.* i. 1. 2.

Graecia (*Graecus*) and *gratia*, e.g. *Merc.* 525.

gratus and *oratus*.

habeo (see *abeo*).

hac, *hanc* (see *ac*).

haud (see *aut*).

hem (see *em*).

hercle and *here*, e.g. *Mil.* 59.

hi and *ii*, *his* and *iis* (passim), e.g. *Mil.* 753. (See p. 22.)

hic and *hinc*, freq.

In Nonius 175. 15 *hic* stands in the Leyden MS., *hinc* in the Laurentian.

hic eram and *iceram*, e.g. *Mil.* 28.

hodie and *odio*, e.g. *Cas.* 404.

homines and *omnes* (passim).

honorem and *homo rem*, e.g. *Mil.* 228.

honos and *onus* (*honus*), *honestus* and *onustus* (*honustus*), freq., e.g. *Pseud.* 218, *Rud.* 909.

hortus and *ortus*, e.g. *Most.* 1046.

hos and *os*, freq., e.g. *Poen.* 760.

hospitium and *hostium*, e.g. *Poen.* 693.

hostiis and *hostis*.

hostium and *ostium*, freq., e.g. *Most.* 768, 795.

huc, *huic*, and *hunc*, very freq., e.g. *Pseud.* 264.

iceram (see *hic eram*).

idem and *item*, e.g. *Merc.* 651.

In Nonius 133. 18 *idem* of the Leyden MS. becomes *item* in the Laurentian.

ii, *iis* (see *hi*, *his*, *usque*).

uit and *ut*, very freq.

illa for *ilia*, *Ilia*, very freq., e.g. *Virg. A.* i. 268.

impero and *impetro*, e.g. *Capt.* 102.

infernus and *infirmus*.

In Nonius 98. 14 the Leyden MS. has *infernos*, but its copy, the Laurentian, has *infirmos*.

inquit and *quid* (*quit*), e.g. *Mil.* 1325, 1343a.

ins- and *s-*, e.g. *inspecto* and *specto*, *Amph.* 998.

ita and *tam*, e.g. *Mil.* 560, and *ite*, e.g. *Aul.* 451.

item (see *idem*) and *itidem*, e.g. *Aul.* 432.

jacco and *tacco*, e.g. *Pseud.* 1247.

jam and *tam*, very freq., e.g. *Juvenal.* iv. 95.

jubet, *juvet*, *lubet*, and *vivet* (passim), e.g. *Aul.* 491, *Curc.* 554, *Cas.* 417.

junctus and *vinctus* (passim), e.g. *Capt.* 113.

lactum, *letum* (passim), and *lentum*.

lasso and *laxo*.

lectoris and *littoris*.

lenis and *levis* (cf. *Stich.* 78).

leon- and *legion-*, e.g. *Aul.* 560.

libera and *liberta*, e.g. *Epid.* 504.

lubet (see *jubet*).

luculentus and *lutulentus*, e.g. *Capt.* 326.

macra for *machaera*, e.g. *Mil.* 1423.

macrens and *merens* (passim).

malitia and *militia*, e.g. *Mil.* 189.

malus and *majus*, freq., e.g.

Juvenal iv. 7.

me and *ne*, e.g. *Mil.* 199.

meum and *metum*.

meum for *moechum*, e.g. *Mil.* 1390.

medicus and *maledicus*, e.g. *Men.* 946.

memini and *minime*, e.g. *Mil.* 356.

meto and *metuo*, e.g. *Most.* 799.

mi (see *emi*).

minimus, *nimius*, and *nummus*, e.g. *Hor. C.* ii. 6. 18.

minus, *minis*, and *nimis*, freq., e.g. *Hor. S.* i. 5. 6.

mirum and *miserum*, e.g. *Rud.* 485.

mirus and *verus*, e.g. *Cas.* 625.

mobilis and *nobilis*, e.g. *Hor. C.* i. 1. 7.

In Nonius 100. 27 *mobilem* of the Leyden MS. is wrongly copied *nobilem* in the Laurentian.

modo (see *domo*).

moles and *mores*, e.g. *Mil.* 194.

monco and *morco*, freq., e.g. *Hor. C.* iii. 7. 20.

morem (see *amores*) and *mortem*, e.g. *Capt.* 232.

multa and *vita*, e.g. *Cas.* 841, *Pers.* 734.

multus and *mutus*, freq.

munerum and *nummum*.

mutuus, *me tuus*, and *tuus*, e.g. *Mil.* 316, *Pseud.* 286, 295.

nam, *non* (freq.), and *nunc*, e.g. *Aul.* 603.

ne (see *me*).

ne, *ne* (freq.), and *nunc*, e.g. *Pseud.* 186.

neque for *nequeo*, e.g. *Mil.* 1342.

nequid and *nequit* (passim).

nimis, *nimum* (see *minus*, *minimium*).

nobilis (see *mobilis*).

nobis (see *bonis*).

nolo and *volo*, freq., e.g. *Merc.* 769; *Mil.* 1239.

nomen (*nō*) and *non*; and *nimen*.

non and *nos*, e.g. *Most.* 1159.

nulli for *ni illi*, freq.

num and *nunc*, e.g. *Amph.* 709.

numero (see *munerum*), *num vero*, and *nunc vero*, e.g. *Amph.* 180.

In Nonius 38. 5 *publicanum vero* of the Leyden MS. becomes in the Laurentian *publica numero*.

nummus (see *minimus*).

odere and *odore*.

In Nonius 125. 26 *odere* stands in the Laurentian but *odore* in its copy, the Harleian.

odio (see *hodie*).

ol- and *vol-*, e.g. *praecolat* and *praevolat*, *Mil.* 41.

omnes (see *homines*).

omnia and *omina*, e.g. *Virg. A.* iii. 315.

onus, *onustus* (see *honor*, *honestus*).

optimus and *optimus*, e.g. *Capt.* 281.

orbam and *orabam*.

orbo and *ordo*.

ornamenta (*ornamtu* with stroke above *n*) and *ornata*, e.g. *Epid.* 222.

ortus (see *hortus*).

os (see *hos*).

ostium (see *hostium*).

pare and *patre*.

paro and *raro*.

patior and *potior*, e.g. *Asia.* 324.

per, *prae*, and *pro*, e.g. *Mil.* 597.

pius and *prius*.

potes and *putes*, freq.

prae, *pro* (see *per*).

precor and *practor*.

probe and *prope*, e.g. *Bacch.* 1160, *Capt.* 269.

proco and *pro eo*.

promisi for *prompsi* (*promsi*), e.g. *Mil.* 829, 841.

prope, *pro re*, and *prorac*.

propius, *proprius* (freq.), and *propitius*, e.g. *Most.* 466.

qua and *quia*, e.g. *Aul.* 435.

quae and *que* (passim).

quaero and *queror*.

quam and *quom*, e.g. *Bacch.* 76.

quam tu and *quantum*, e.g. *Mil.* 314.

quamquam, *quaquam*, and *quaqua*, freq., e.g. *Aul.* 102.

quasi and *quia si*, e.g. *Truc.* 870.

qui (see *cui*) and *quin*, e.g. *Mil.* 262.

quid (see *inquit*).

quiesce and *quiesce*.

quietus and *qui et*.

quin (see *qui*) for *qui in*, freq.

quisque and *quisquis*, freq., e.g. *Pseud.* 973.

quondam (see *condam*).

quot and *quod* (passim).

re- and *rem*, freq., e.g. *resolvit* and *rem solvit*, *Asin.* 433; cf. *Trin.* 912.

recte (see *certe*).

reddit and *redit*, freq., e.g. *Cas.* 719.

regi and *rei*, e.g. *Mil.* 77.

regis and *regis*.

relinqui and *reliqui*, freq.

res for *heres*, e.g. *Most.* 234.

s- (see *ins-*).

saepe (*sepe*) and *semper* (*sēper*), e.g. *Pseud.* 225.

saltem and *salutem*, e.g. *Trin.* 487.

salto and *saluto*, e.g. *Mil.* 668.

sci- and *si-*, e.g. *scit* and *sit*, *scitis* and *sitis*, *scimus* and *simus* (passim), e.g. *Pseud.* 179, 275, 641, 657, 831.

scito for *est cito* (see *faciam*).

scitus (see *citus*).

se and *si*, freq., e.g. *Amph.* 662.

sed (see *et*) and *si*.

serus and *servus*, e.g. *Bacch.* 402.

sese (see *csse*).

simulavit and *si amavit*, e.g. *Mil.* 1251.

sin forsi in, *sit forsi id* (*si it*), freq.

sit (see *fit*).

sordibus and *sordidus*.

specto and *inspecto*, e.g. *Amph.* 998.

suam for *si jam*, freq.

sumpsi (*sūpsi*) and *si ipsi*.

suscipio and *suspicio*, e.g. *Virg. A. vi.* 724.

tam (see *ita*) and *tuam*, e.g. *Mil.* 793.

tamen and *tamne*.

terere and *terrere*, e.g. *Trin.* 796.

timco and *tumco*.

tingo (see *fungo*).

transcit and *transigit*, e.g. *Virg. A. ix.* 634.

tu and *ut*, freq., e.g. *Mil.* 1276; and *tum* (freq.), *tunc*, e.g. *Pseud.* 240, *Merc.* 552.

tunc for *tune*, freq. (cf. p. 85).

tuus (see *mutuus*).

ulli and *vili*, e.g. *Virg. G. ii.* 439.

urgco (see *arguo*).

usquam and *vos quam*, e.g. *Merc.* 423.

usque and *iisque*.

ut (see *tu*, *et*, *ut*), *vi*, and *vel*, freq., e.g. *Mil.* 1066.

utilis and *vilis*.

utrum, *virum*, and *verum*, freq., e.g. *Men.* 988.

vel (see *ut*).

velim and *vilem*, e.g. *Mil.* 1243.

velle, *vellus* (see *belle*, *bellus*).

velut and *vellit*.

vena and *vera*.

veneo and *venio*, freq., e.g. *Men.* 289, 549.

verba and *verbera*, e.g. *Most.* 993.
verus (see *mirus*, *numero*) and
vir-, freq., e.g. *Pseud.* 1134,
Pers. 84, 372.

reto and *vexo*.

vi (see *ut*).

vilis (see *utilis*, *ulli*, *velim*).

vinctus (see *junctus*).

vis (see *bis*).

vita (see *multa*).

vicit and *vult*, e.g. *Mil.* 1051.

vivo (see *jubet*).

vo- (see *o-*).

volo (see *nolo*).

voltus and *volutus*, e.g. *Capt.* 106.

voluntas and *voluptas*, very freq.,
e.g. *Truc.* 353.

vos quam (see *usquam*).

List of terminations commonly confused :—

-*ae* and -*e*, e.g. *fere* (*ferre DJ*) for *ferae*, *Capt.* 123.

-*as* and -*ans*, e.g. *accuba(n)s*, *Most.* 368.

-*bis*, -*bit* and -*vis*, -*vit*, e.g. *curavit* for *curabit*, *Amph.* 487.

-*co* and -*co*, e.g. *habeo* for *habebo*, *Merc.* 439.

-*cs* and -*ens*.

-*et* for -*ebat*, e.g. *subolet* for *subolebat*, *Pseud.* 421.

-*et* and -*it*, e.g. *ducet* for *ducit*, *Pseud.* 788. So -*is* for -*es*, e.g.
dicis for *dices*, *Pseud.* 1323 (see Leo's note on *Mil.* 664).

-*illus* and -*ulus*, e.g. *tantulus* and *tantillus*.

-*isse* and -*ivisse*, e.g. *Amph.* 272.

-*isti* for -*ti*, e.g. *Asin.* 746 ; *Trin.* 556, 567, 602.

-*ite* and -*e te*, e.g. *agite* and *age te* ; cf. *Mil.* 1206 (*sinite* for *sine te*).

-*ito* and -*e tu*, e.g. *agito* and *age tu* ; cf. *Poen.* 1278 (*facito* for *face tu*).

-*m* and -*nt* (see ch. vi. § 1), e.g. *possum* for *possunt*, *Lucr.* i. 104 ;
cumulam for *cumulant*, *Virg. A.* xii. 515.

-*o* for -*abo*, e.g. *spero* for *sperabo*, *Mil.* 1209.

-*o* and -*ero*.

-*rent* for -*rint*, e.g. *amarent* for *amarint* (*amaverint*).

-*stis* and -*sti* (cf. *Asin.* 802).

-*to* and -*tu* (see -*ito* above).

-*tor* and -*tur*, e.g. *datur* for *dator*, *Truc.* 247.

-*us* and -*is*. Both in capitals and uncials, as well as in minuscules, -*us* when written in ligature closely resembled -*is*. The same contraction is in early minuscule sometimes used for both. Uncial (and capital) -*um*, -*un* are also hardly distinguishable from -*im*, -*in* (ch. vi. § 2), e.g. *terrarim* for *terrarum*, *Amph.* 336.

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Additional examples of the substitution of words :—

(1) Of a gloss :

Pseud. 592 *ignobilis* (attested by Festus : so *A.* but *P* has *ignorabilis*).

Pseud. 1107 *luxantur* ("id est luxuriantur" Festus; attested for this line by Nonius). *CD* have *luxuriantur*, but *B* with its *luxuriantur iantur* gives indication that the true reading was present in some way in the archetype.

Amph. 73 *sirēmpse legem jūssit esse Juppiter*. (The MSS. have for O. Lat. *sirēmpse*, "on the same terms," the etymological gloss *si similem rem ipse*, overcrowding the line with syllables.)

Trin. 340 *nam ēt illud quod dat pēdit et illi prōdit vitam ad mīseriam*. (*Prodit*, the reading of *A*, is attested by Servius, but *P* has *producit*.)

In *Mil.* 24, where the Parasite explains the reason of his reluctance to quit the Soldier's service, the reading of *A* seems to be :

nisi unum epityrum estur insanum bene.

But Varro quotes the line with *epityra estur*, which is more likely to have been the actual phrase used by Plautus, *epityra* being acc. pl., governed by the impersonal passive¹ *estur*, so that the genuine line will be :

nisi ūnum : epityra ēstur insanūm bene,

"but one thing I will say : (his) olive-salad is frantically good eating." Varro's reading appears to have been the original reading of *P*, though in our minuscule MSS. between *epityra* and *estur* stand the words *ut apud illa* (for *illum* probably). If we suppose *ut* to be a corruption of *vel* (see above, p. 64), these words will be a gloss on some unusual form of the demonstrative adverb, say *illi* or *ei*, "there," "at that house"; though a simpler explanation of them is that they are an example not of substitution but of insertion, *ut apud illum* having been designed to explain the construction of the sentence "how frantically good eating is the olive-salad at his house !"

(2) Wrong treatment of correction in original :

Mil. 652 ends with *subigito in convivio*. In *P* this was wrongly written *subigito meo convivio*, but had been corrected by the writing of *in* over *meo*. The mistake and its correction, *meo* with suprascript *in*, is reproduced in *B*; but in the original of *CD* the nature of the correction was misunderstood, and the words *subigito meo* appear in *CD* as *subigito min*.

Capt. 545. The correction in the original of *BOVEJ* of *isto* to

¹ This O. Lat. construction is known from Ennius' *vitam viritur* (see my *Latin Language* p. 521).

si te has produced in *BOI iste* (changed by the corrector to *sile*), in *E iste* (unchanged), in *J is si te*.

Amph. 647. The word *clucat* was miswritten *ducat* in the original of *BDEJ* (on the change of *cl* to *d* see ch. vii. § 1). This was wrongly emended by writing *re* above. In *B* the correction has produced *redcat*; in *D ducat*, corrected to *redcat*; in *EJ reducat*.

Asin. 589. The archaic form *quoi* was in the original of *BDEJ* either corrected or explained as *cui*. In *B* we find *quo cui*, in *E cui quoi*, in *DJ cui*. The same thing happened four lines farther on (v. 593); but here *B* reproduces the original exactly, *quoi*, while *E* has *quoi cui* and *DJ cui*.

For other examples see Appendix A. An example which shows the relation of the Renaissance MSS. and early printed editions to the Codex Ursinianus (*P*) is *Most.* 464:

di té deaeque omnes faxint cum istoc ómine,

where in *D* the word *axint* (instead of *faxint*) is explained or emended by suprascript *perdu* to *perduint*. The Renaissance MSS. and the Editio Princeps have *perduaxint* or *perduassint*.

(3) Word from context:

Amph. 489-90 et ne in suspicióne ponatúr stupri,
et cládestina ut céletur consuetio.

For *consuetio*, which is attested by Donatus and Festus, our MSS. (*P*) have *suspicio*, a substitution due to the occurrence of *suspicióne* in the preceding line.

Merc. 40 princípío ut actas éx ephebis éxiit
atque ánimus studio amótus puerilíst meus.

For *ut actas*, which has been restored by conjecture, our MSS. (*P*) have *atque animus*, a substitution from the following line.

Most. 662 sqq. (the cunning slave Tranio is embarrassed by the question where the house is which he pretends his young master has bought).

quid ego núnc agam,
nisi ut in vicinum hunc próximum \simeq \simeq — ?
eas émisse aedis hájus dicam filium.
calidum hérele esse audiui optumum mendácium.

The minuscule MSS. end v. 663 with *mendacium*, the eye of the copyist of the archetype having been attracted by the ending of v. 665. The Ambrosian Palimpsest has —RDIE or —PERCITE. No satisfactory conjecture has yet been made about the missing word. Schoell reads *istunc percitem*.

(4) Ecclesiastical word :

Asin. 656 *salus interioris corporis amorisque imperator.*

This is the reading of all the MSS. except *B*, which has *interioris hominis*, "the inner man," clearly a Scriptural reminiscence.

Cist. 666 *sánane es? Haec súnť profecto. Pérġin? Haec sunt. Sí mihi, etc.*

Here *profecto* was miswritten *prophetio* in the original of *BVEJ*, a miswriting reproduced without correction in *V*. The word was possibly in the archetype expressed by a contraction (cf. *Pseud.* 256, where *proh* or *oro* has been wrongly expanded in our MSS. to *profecto*).

I think that *mica*, imperat. of *micare* (sc. *digitis*), "to play the game of mora," has been written *amica* in our minuscule MSS. in *Stich.* 700, where the two slaves are discussing how they are to settle who is to preside at their carouse. The *P*-reading is :

"amica" uter utrubi accumbamus. Abi tu sane superior ;

but the beginning of the line in *A*, so far as it can be deciphered, in (? a) * * * CEM, suggests *an micem* as its reading.

Truc. 736. The *argentari* of *BCD* may be a substitution for *adcentare*, due to the common confusion of *c* and *g* (ch. vi. § 1). Read :—

AST. *litteras didicisti : quando scís, sine alios discere,*

DIN. *discant, dum mihi adcentare liceat, ne oblitus siem (argentariiliceam ni MSS.),*

"let them have their lesson. But let me strike in with my repetition too, for fear I forget it."

If we suppose *uvida* or *avidum* to be a jocular expression for "the sea" in Plautus' time, the only fault in *Most.* 434 will be the substitution of *unda*. Read :

verúm si posthac mé pedem latúm modo

scies inposisse in ávidum (avidum), hau causa ilico est (MSS. undam).

quod núnc volústi facere quin faciás mihi.

The unmetrical *adhaeresceret* (AP) of *Poen.* 479 may be a gloss on some O. Lat. verb, say *ambhaeresceret* :

Quoi rei? Ne ad fundas víscus ambhaerésceret.

CHAPTER VI

CONFUSION OF LETTERS

Letters confused in (1)
capitals, (2)
Caroline
minuscules,

1. THE possibility of confusion of letters varies according to the character of writing in which a text has been copied. In capital writing it is limited to certain letters, and in uncial to the same with a few exceptions and additions. In minuscule writing quite a different set of letters are liable to be confused with one another; and the possibility of confusion varies for Caroline, Visigothic, and Lombard minuscules. The text of Plautus offers us examples of the confusion of letters in two styles only of writing, but these perhaps the most important—capitals and Caroline minuscules.

Some letters are equally liable to confusion in capital and Caroline minuscule script, such as I and L, *i* and *l*. The minuscule form of *i* which is liable to confusion with *l* is the "tall" form¹ of *i*. Indeed, it is often difficult to decide in a MS. written in early Caroline minuscule whether the scribe has written *l* or an *i* of this form. This confusion has turned *inulta* into *invita* in MSS. of Horace *C.* ii. 1. 26:

Juno et deorum quisquis amior
Afris *inulta* cesserit impotens
tellure, victorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Jugurthae,

¹ For representations of the letters the reader may consult Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (International Scientific Series), Lond. 1893.

and has changed *majorum* to *malorum* in *Pseud.* 581. But a confusion of F and E is peculiar to majuscule writing. We may take as example Prof. Ellis' certain emendation *ne frit quidem*, "not even a grain," for the *nec erit quidem* of the MSS. in *Most.* 595:

non dát, non debet. Nón debet? Ne frit quidem
ferre hinc potes.

A confusion of *f* and *s*, on the other hand, is peculiar to minuscule, in which the two letters were as easily confused as their representatives are in early printed books. To this confusion we owe the variants *sors* and *fors* in Horace *S. i.* 1. 2:

qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu *fors* objecerit, illa
contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?

Similarly the confusion of *r* and *s* is peculiar to early minuscule; e.g. *urit* for *visit* in Horace *C. i.* 4. 8:

dum graves Cyclopum
Volcanus ardens *visit* officinas.

In minuscule MSS., as in careless printing, *cl* and *d* are often almost indistinguishable. Thus in Horace MSS. we find *redimat* for *reclinat* in *Epod.* xvii. 24:

nullum ab labore me *reclinat* otium;

demens for *clemens* in *C. iii.* 11. 46:

quod viro *clemens* misero peperci.

Often the possibility of confusion of letters of the same character of writing differed in process of time. In early minuscule, for example, a prevalent form of *a* is what is known as "open" *a*; and nothing is commoner in MSS. than to find confusions, dating from the early minuscule stage of a text, of *a* and *u*. Alcuin, in replying to a query of the Emperor Charlemagne

about the proper gender of *rubus*, complains of the liability of the terminations *-um* and *-um* to confusion (possunt quaedam ex his exemplis vitio scriptoris esse corrupta et "u" pro "a" vel etiam "a" pro "u" posita—*Epist.* 162 in vol. iv of the *Epistolae* in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*) Between "open" *a* and ordinary *a* came a transition-stage, in which a horizontal line is drawn connecting the two horns of "open" *a*. This occasional transition-form is easily confused with *ci*. Hence, e.g., *cispellam* has replaced *aspellam* in our MSS. of *Amph.* 1000. A later form of *a*, the "high-backed" form, is often very like *d*. This has produced a confusion of *aio* with *dico* in the *Captivi*, vv. 72, 694. (On the confusion of Lombard *a* with *ce* see § 3 below.)

LIST OF SIMILAR LETTERS

Here is a fuller list, with examples, of the letters most easily confused in capital and Caroline minuscule writing.

A, X, e.g. *Amph.* 783 *cam solve* for *exsolve*.

So *ea* and *ex*; *era* and *arx*.

a, u (see above), e.g. *Bacch.* 293 *turbare* for *tardare*; *Mil.* 1187 *atjubeat* (P: *adjubeat* B, *adjuvet* CD) for *ut jubeat* (A).

a, ci (see above).

a, d (see above).

B, R, e.g. *Virg. A.* ix. 158 *procurate* for *procubate*.

So *ire* and *ibi* (*ibe*).

b, d, e.g. *Bacch.* 293 *turbare* for *tardare*.

b, h, e.g. *Capt.* 211 *sinebis* for *sine his*.

C, G, e.g. *Bacch.* 743 *congreem* for *congraceem*; *Asin.* 632 *delegit* for *dejeit*; *Mil.* 112 *contegit* for *conjeit* (*conjeit*); *Amph.* 285 *furgifer* (*fugifer* E) for *fureifer*. (For examples of the confusion of *c* and *g* in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

In MSS. of archaic authors like Plautus there is always a possibility that *c* for *g* may be a genuine survival of the Old Latin orthography, e.g. *C.* for *Gaius*, *Cn.* for *Gnaeus* (see my *Latin Language* p. 7).

In *Asin.* 670 *genua confricantur*, the variants *confricantur* and *confringantur* stood in the original of *EDÉL.* With *al.* "aliter" to indicate the variety of reading *B* has *confringantur al. confricantur*.

C, O,
c, o (occasionally) } e.g. Virg. *G.* iv. 48 *canoros* for *cancros*.

c, e (On this confusion in uncials see § 2), e.g. *area* and *ærea*;
dici and *dici*; *coacta* and *coacta*; *proco* and *proco*; *cum* and *eum*.

In Nonius 133. 15 the Leyden MS. has *tunc*. Whether the
 Laurentian scribe has written *tunc* or *tunc* is difficult to
 decide. But the Harleian transcribes the word as *tunc*.

c, t (for uncials cf. § 2), e.g. *Poen.* 958 *arcesseram* for *hunc tesseram*;
Poen. 624 *foren et* (B: *fore et* CD) for *fore nec*.

The confusion of *et* and *tt* may be also a matter of pro-
 nunciation; for in Late Latin the two groups had the
 same sound. Cf. Ital. *otto* for Lat. *octo*, and late spell-
 ings like *autor* for *auctor*. (See my *Latin Language* p.
 89.) The same is true of *ei* and *ti*, when a vowel follows.

On the ligature *cc*, *et* see below.

So *sicut* and *sit ut*; *precor* (*præcor*) and *practor*; *videre cur*
 and *videretur*; *mecum* and *metum*; *arcem* and *artem*.

D, O. A good example is *Mil.* 1414, where the corruption in our
 minuscule MSS., *idum* for *Jovem*, is explained at a glance if we
 write the latter word as it was probably written in the original
 of *P*, IOV with a stroke above V. (On the use of a horizontal
 stroke above a letter to indicate (1) a contraction, (2) the
 letter *m*, see ch. vii. § 1.)

So *unde quo* and *uno equo*.

d, cl (see above).

E, F, e.g. *Cas.* 361 *Eo dico* for *Folico*, a corruption which may be
 later than the archetype in capitals, for the letter is the
 initial letter of the line; *Amph.* 151 *adest ferit* for *adeste erit*;
Cas. 357 *funus* (*funus* J) for *canus*; *Asin.* 554 *forum* for
corum; *Asin.* 555 *cugae* (*cuge* EJ) for *fugae*; *Stich.* 349 *misera*
fulgebunt (B: *misera fulgebunt* D) for *miseræ algebunt*.

So *eidem* and *fidem*; *clexit* and *flexit*; *qui fuerunt* and
quieverunt; *æra* and *Afra*; *cluere* and *fluere*.

(For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index, e.g. *Epid.* 226
cundis for *fundis*, *Mil.* 359 *per fundum* for *pereundum*.)

E, L, T, I, e.g. *Pers.* 487 *alienent* for *attinent* (*attinent*); *Pseud.*
 631 *vale ibi* for *vac tibi*; *Pseud.* 1334 *virum* for *verum*. (For
 other examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

cc, et, ex. These three ligatures were so difficult to distinguish
 that first the *cc*-ligature then the *ex*-ligature fell into disuse.
 The *ex*-ligature stood in the original of *BDEVJ* at *Aul.* 766.
 The *et*-ligature we still use in our abbreviation of *et cetera*,
 &c.

F, T, e.g. *Mil.* 1159 *tacitis* for *facitis*; *Mil.* 38 *fabellus* for *tabellus*.

F, P, e.g. *Most.* 151 *filia* for *pila*.

f, s (see above), e.g. *Amph.* 510 *fustis* (E: *furtis* J) for *si istis*;
Cas. 404 *sit* for *fit*.

G, O, e.g. *Curc.* 318 *Os amarum* for *Gramarum*.

So *orata* and *grata*.

H, K. In capital script the letters are often indistinguishable (see Appendix A).

H, N, e.g. *Cist.* 18 *hacc* for *nec* (at beginning of line).

h, n (occasionally).

H, IC, EI, EL. All these confusions are possible when the right-hand stroke of H is separated from the rest.

H, LI. This confusion is possible when the left-hand stroke of H is separated.

Thus in *Truc.* 148 *copia hic* of the archetype was in *P* written *copiac lic* (p. 49 above).

i in early minuscule is often written in ligature with a preceding consonant, a practice which makes *ei* easily confused with *et*, gives *si* and *fi* the look of *p*, and makes *gi*, *ti*, etc. often very little different from *g*, *t* etc. (cf. *Capt.* 18 *profugens* BD for *profugens*).

I, T,
i, t (occasionally) { e.g. *Mil.* 1066 *vi* for *ut*; *Pers.* 285 *vitu* (B: *vita* CD) for *ut tu*; *Men.* 988 *utrum* for *virum*; *Pseud.* 1247 *tacentem* for *jacentem*; *Mil.* 720 *stet* for *si .i.* (For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

So Virg. *G.* ii. 340 *utrum* for *virum*.

I, L
i, l (see above), { e.g. *Aul.* 491 *jubeant* for *lubeat*; *Pseud.* 1244 *vi ixem* (B: *vixissem* CD) for *Ulixem*; *Aul.* 674 *aulus* for *avius*; *Mil.* 743 *illas* for *Ilias*.

So Virg. *G.* ii. 439 *vili* for *ulli*; *A.* i. 268 *illa* for *ilia*.

in, iu, ui, lu, ul, e.g. *Cas.* 417 *vivere* for *juvere*; *Curc.* 554 *vicit* for *lubet*; *Mil.* 1051 *cult* for *vicit*; *Aul.* 672 *tandium* (*tandiu* EJY) *quam perdiu* for *tam diu* *quam perdiu*.

It is often difficult to say whether a minuscule MS. reads, e.g., *junctus* or *vinctus*, *jus* or *vis* (cf. *Capt.* 113, 121).

L, T, e.g. *Pseud.* 1041 *leuane* (B: *lenonem* CD) for *te ane*; *Pseud.* 373 *miles* for *miles*. (For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

M, NT, e.g. Virg. *A.* xii. 515 *cumulam* for *cumulant*; Lucr. i. 104 *possum* for *possunt*.

(Final *-nt* in early minuscule was often expressed by a ligature of majuscule N and T which might resemble M.)

M, NI, IN
m, ni, in { e.g. *Most.* 499 *nam in ea cherantem* (CD) for *nam me Acherantem* (B).

So *tribum* and *tribuni*. In the minuscule Laurentian MS. of Nonius (195 M. 16) *Bithynia* was written *bithia* and corrected by suprascription of *ni*. This *ni* looks very like *m* and has been so transcribed in the Escorial copy of this MS., which has *bithiam*.

M, N { e.g. *Mil.* 739 *domi* for *domi*; *Most.* 576 *minis* for *nimis*.
m, n { (For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index, and for confusion of the contraction-signs, below, p. 90.)

n, r (in very early minuscule), e.g. *Bacch.* 793 *terus* for *tenus*; *Cure.* 26 *sind* for *sint*. (Both instances may be otherwise explained.)

n, u, e.g. *Stich.* 78 *leuter* for *leniter* (CD). So *nolo* and *volo*, *nos* and *cos*.

O, Q, e.g. *More.* 524 *quem* for *orem* (at beginning of line).

So *Virg. G. ii.* 375 *ques* for *oves*.

P, R, e.g. *Mil.* 363 *perip* *propere* (B: *peri* *perpropere* CD) for *perire* *propere*.

So *paras* and *raras*; *prope* and *pro re* or *prorae*.

r, y. The close similarity of the early forms of these two letters led to the adoption of the dotted form of *y*. The undotted *y* stood in the archetype at *Men.* 305 *cyathissare*, where *B* has *cyattissare* and CD *eratissare*. In the Leyden MS. of Nonius (230 M. 30) *cyeno* is written exactly like *crono*. The Laurentian copy has *orono*.

r, s (in early minuscule), e.g. *Cure.* 318 *Os amurum* for *Gramurum*.

rt, st. When written in ligature these groups are often hardly distinguishable.

V, I { (in ligatures such as *um*, *us*), e.g. *Bacch.* 955 *lumen* for *limen*.
u, i { (For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.) In Nonius 18. 13 *sumitur* is miswritten *simitur* in the Leyden MS., and in its copy, the Laurentian, the word is further corrupted to *im(m)ittitur*.

V, II { e.g. *Pseud.* 633 *avi* for *alii*; *Pseud.* 670 *haec carata*
u, ii, li, ti, ll { *est* for *haec allata est*.

So *suam* and *si jam*; *ut* and *uit*; *usque* and *iisque*; *durati* and *di irati*; *sumpsi* (*sūpsi*) and *si ipsi*; *nulli* and *ni illi*; *colus* and *collis*; *velut* and *vellit*.

In Nonius 108. 28 *albus* of the Leyden MS. is miscopied *albetis* in the Laurentian; 231. 22 the name *Fufidius*, written *jupidius*, has in the Leyden MS. quite the appearance of *stipidius*, and is so copied in the Laurentian.

To the ligatures mentioned above may be added the ligature-form of *r* in early minuscule which often led to confusion. Thus *ere* is often wrongly copied as *ee*; e.g. *expugnasse* (E: *expugnasse* BJ) for *expugnassere* (D) in *Amph.* 210 may be due to a mistake of this kind.¹ So too may

¹ I would explain in this way the *incipisse* of the MSS. in *Cept.* 532, and read:

quám, malum? quid máchiner? quid cómmunisear? máxumast (-mas MSS.)

nugás ineptia *incipissere*: haéreo (*ineptias* MSS.),

though the loss of the final -ee before *haereo* (*ereo*) might also be referred to haplography.

the frequent substitution of *or* for *ort*, e.g. *oporet* (B¹D) for *oportet* in *Amph.* 268, 318, 992. The ligature *ae* is often hardly distinguishable from *e*, so that in addition to the similarity of the pronunciation of these letters (ch. v. § 9) there was also a similarity of form.

in uncials,

2. In uncial writing the same confusions are usually possible as in capital script. The letters whose uncial and capital forms differ are *a*, *d*, *e*, *h*, *m*, *q*, *u*. Uncial *g*, when the "tag" of the letter consists, as it often does, of a faint hair-line drawn almost horizontally under the circle, is hardly to be distinguished from *c*. Uncial *d* is even more prone than capital *d* to be mistaken for *o*; and it is properly speaking the uncial form of *u* which is so like *i* in the ligatures *un*, *um*, *us*, etc. (see above), though these ligatures are used also in capital script, especially when letters had to be crowded into the end of a line. The uncial *e*, as well as a rounded form of *t*, was easily mistaken for *c*.

Uncial, but hardly capital, confusions of letters are :

C, G with **E, T** (see above), e.g. *se* for *S. C.* "senatus consultum" in Cic. *Phil.* x. 6. 13.

In a Lyons MS. of St. Hilary written in uncials of the sixth century the *c* is very like *e*. (See the photographed specimen page in the *Album Paléographique*.) The *a* is often like *n*.

D with **A**, e.g. *vide* and *riac*; *ductor* and *auctor*; *duxi* and *auxi*.

D with **S** (occasionally with **OS** in ligature), e.g. *quod* and *quos*; *quid* and *quis*; *datis* and *satis*; *deditio* and *seditio*; *sede* and *sese*.

U with **CI, TI, LI** (see p. 87), e.g. *suam* and *sciam*; *aves* and *civis*; *uvis* and *civis*; *ubi* and *tibi*; *parum* and *partim*.

in other
scripts.

3. In Irish or Anglo-Saxon script the most readily confused letters are *r*, *n*, *s*. The *g* is often mistaken by copyists for *z*. Subscript *i* (see above) is particularly common in this script.

The Lombard form of *a*, not unknown in Caroline minuscule, is easily confused with *cc* or *oc*; the Lombard (and Visigothic) *t* with *ot* or *at*, or *ai* or *it*; the *k* with *lc* or *hc*.

The Visigothic *g* looks like a ligature of *ci*. A form of *t* closely resembles *a*.

In the Merovingian script the characters are so rudely and irregularly formed that the possibilities of confusion are very numerous, as numerous almost as in the early Roman cursive hand which we find in the *graffiti* of Pompeii. There is a great temptation for an editor, puzzled with the variety of mistakes in the MSS. of a classical author, to solve the difficulty by the hypothesis that the archetype, if a mediaeval MS., was in Merovingian script, or, if of much earlier date, was in early Roman cursive.

4. A word of caution must be added against overhasty inference about the script of an archetype from one or two instances of the confusion of letters in a MS. What seems at first sight the confusion of one letter with another may often really be the confusion of one word with another, e.g. *militia* and *malitia* (see the preceding chapter). And in many cases some accidental peculiarity in the archetype, quite unconnected with the general character of its script, may give rise to the confusion. Thus in the Laurentian MS. of Nonius (181 M. 20), a MS. written in ninth- or early tenth-century Caroline minuscules, the word *socordia* was first written *cocordia*, then the letter *c* at the beginning of the word was corrected to *s*. The correction has been made in such a way that the corrected letter looks as much like *g* as anything else; and in the Harleian MS., which is a direct copy of the Laurentian, the word is copied *gocordia*. How mistaken in this case would be the inference that since *socordia* has been written *gocordia* in the Harleian MS., it must have been copied from an original in which *s* had habitually or frequently the form of *c*! We must be careful, too, to distinguish miswritings which are due to Late Latin pronunciation, e.g. *sei* and *si* (see p. 68 above), from those which arise from the similarity of one letter to another. The want of this distinction is a fault in Hagen's *Gradus ad Criticem*.

Inference of
script of
archetype.

CHAPTER VII

CONFUSION OF CONTRACTIONS

Few contractions in capital and uncial MSS.

1. IN the capital and uncial MSS. preserved to us a very sparing use is made of contractions. In the Ambrosian Palimpsest, for example, we find only *B* for *-bus*, e.g. OMNIB. "omnibus," *Q* for *que*, e.g. *Pseud.* 613 ATQ. AMANT "atque amant" (*atque* *amant* of *B* curiously reproduces this), *Pers.* 194 Q. ANTVR "queantur"; while a wavy line over the letter *n* indicates an *m*,¹ over the letter *n* indicates the word *non*. It was scribes accustomed to these contractions who made mistakes like *Lucr.* v. 1071 *desertibus aubantur* for *deserti haubantur*; *Virg. A.* xi. 572 *nutribus at* for *nutribat*; *Pseud.* 328 *queam* for *quam*.

On inscriptions we find a large number of terms in common use expressed by contractions, sometimes by the initial letter only, e.g. *S.C.* for *senatus consultum*, *R.P.* for *res publica*, sometimes by the initial letters

¹ This line (over any vowel) for *m* is in early MSS. properly written with an up-turned hook at one end and a down-turned hook at the other, while the line indicating the contraction of a word is a straight line. But this distinction came to be dropped. The extension of one or other (or both) of these signs to indicate an *n* varied in usage at different times. Often the contraction for *n* is limited to the end of a line, while the contraction for *m* is used freely at any part of the line. But there was always a possibility of a minuscule scribe being left uncertain whether to interpret a horizontal stroke over a vowel in a majuscule original as an *m* or as an *n*.

of syllables, e.g. *PF* for *præfectus*, sometimes with the addition of the final letter, e.g. *SCDS* for *secundus*, *DS* for *deus*.¹ A great many of these appear, sometimes with majuscule, sometimes with minuscule characters, even in mediaeval MSS., and have occasionally been misunderstood by copyists, as well as by modern editors. Thus *s(enatus) c(onsultum)* in Cicero *Att.* iii. 15. 5 has become *sic*, in Cicero *Phil.* x. 6. 13 *se*; *c(larissimo) ri(ro)* in Cicero *Phil.* ix. 1. 3 has become *cui*; *M. Varro* in Gellius ii. 25. 9 has become *Mauro*; *nam Ael(ius) Lam(ia)* in Velleius ii. 116 has become *nam etiam*; *h(ora) i* (i.e. *prima*) *s(emis)* in Cicero *Att.* xv. 24 appears as *his*; and nothing is commoner than to find the conjunction *que* for the name *Q(uintus)*.

Along with this system of contractions by means of single letters there was in ancient Rome a fully-developed system of shorthand writing, the signs for which were known as the *Notæ Tironis*, so called from Tiro, the freedman of Cicero. Certain of these shorthand signs to express syllables were adopted for convenience of writing by mediaeval scribes. Thus a curved stroke like an apostrophe indicated the syllable *us*, e.g. *t' "tus"*²; other strokes represented the syllables *er*, *ur*, *en*, *is* etc. If these shorthand strokes were accidentally omitted, or made with a dry pen by the scribe of an original, or overlooked by the scribe of a copy, a corrupt reading was the result. Thus *periratus* has become *piratus* in *True.* 656.

2. In the sixth and seventh centuries a host of Great number in sixth and seventh centuries.

¹ A collection of these contractions, or, to use the Latin term, *notæ*, "quæ in monumentis pluribus et in historiarum libris sacrisque publicis reperiuntur," was made by the grammarian Valerius Probus in the time of Nero. The surviving extracts from this work have been published by Mommsen in vol. iv of the *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Keil. Götthaus tries to explain some corruptions in MSS. of Livy by supposing them to be due to the use of these *notæ* in ancient texts.

² The same sign with *p* represented the word *post*. Hence it is that *B* reads *pūs* in *Mæn.* 1117, while *CD* have rightly *post*.

contractions were in use in various scripts, and in many cases the same sign was capable of signifying quite different words. Thus the letter *s*, with its contracted use indicated by a horizontal stroke above or some other mark, stood for *si*, *sed*, *secundum*, *sunt*, and on occasion also *sanctus*, *scriptum*, *supra*, *senatus*, and so on; the letter *n*, with accompanying mark of contraction, stood for *nam*, *non*, *nunc*, and also *nos*, *nobis*, *noster*, *nomen* etc. So confusing a state of matters could not be allowed to last; and accordingly we find the number gradually lessened by Carolingian and other scribes, and differentiating marks introduced to distinguish, e.g., *sed* from *si*, *non* from *nunc*.

But, as may be imagined, this change in the use of contractions was a fertile source of errors in MSS. When a scribe accustomed to one set of contractions had to copy a MS. in which a different set of contractions was used, he would inevitably make many mistakes; and even in transcribing contractions with which he was familiar he might, if the same sign were used in more than one sense, expand it now and then in a wrong way. We have many instances in our minuscule MSS. of Plautus. The identity of the signs \bar{e} for *em* and \bar{e} for *est* (also for *et*) has caused *quid est* in *Pseud.* 1066, written *quidē* in the original of *CD*, to be wrongly copied by the scribe of *C* as *quidem*. The identity of the signs \bar{n} for *non* and \bar{n} for *nam* has led to *nam* being substituted for *non* in *Pseud.* 521, *non* for *nam* in *Pseud.* 642. Especially the contractions of the relative pronouns and adverbs varied in use from time to time. We find *quoniam*, *quom* (*cum*, *qum*) and *quando* confused over and over again in Plautus MSS., and similarly *qui*, *quid*, *quia* etc. etc.¹

A contraction was often indicated by a suprascript

¹ These relative forms were confused even when not written in contraction. (For examples in *A* see Studemund's Index.)

letter. Thus ⁱ*m* stood for *mihi*, ^o*m* for *modo*, ⁱ*p* for the syllable *pri*, ^u*p* for the syllable *pra*, and so on. And the *u* of the relative and other words was often suprascript in a more or less conventional form (cf. ch. ii. § 7).

3. A knowledge of the contractions used in Latin MSS. is of immense importance to every one who concerns himself with the emendation of Latin texts. For a fuller account of them than can be given here the student may consult Chassant *Dictionnaire des Abréviations*, or the larger and more important work Walther *Lexicon Diplomaticum*. Neither of these books, however, provides us with a satisfactory account of the limitations of particular contractions to particular centuries or particular scripts. When our knowledge of these limitations is more complete, it will be possible to trace with more certainty the history of a text than can be done at present. For the confusion of contractions is at least as important a clue to the date and country of an archetype as the confusion of letters. A feature, for example, of Visigothic MSS. is their use of a contraction for *per* (Thompson *Greek and Latin Palaeography* p. 224), which in the minuscule of other countries would represent *pro*. Irish scribes, to whose labours both in monasteries in Ireland and on the continent we owe the preservation of many texts of ancient authors, used a peculiar set of contractions. One of these was *h'* for *autem*, a sign resembling a sign used elsewhere for *hoc*; and it is fairly safe evidence of an Irish or Anglo-Saxon original if we find in a copy *hoc* substituted for *autem*, as in the Namur MS. of Bede (see Plummer's edition, *Introd.* p. lxxxvii). (In two British Museum fourteenth-century MSS. of Cicero *Orator* we find *enim* substituted for *autem*. See Sandys *Introd.*)

Give clue to history of text.

The difficulty found by continental monks in reading and transcribing the numerous MSS. in Irish writing, or in that variety of Irish writing known as Anglo-Saxon, is illustrated by a ninth-century MS. of St. Ambrose now at Florence

(Laur. Ashb. 60 c. 55). This MS. is written in the Irish hand, but a subsequent hand has added over each peculiarly Irish contraction its interpretation in the usual Caroline script; e.g. above *h'* is written *aūt* or *aū* to represent *autem*, and so on. (A photograph of a page of this MS. is given in the *Collezione Fiorentina* No. 40.)

Errors arising from them.

4. Besides the other possibilities of error arising from the use of contractions, the contraction-stroke may on occasion have been mistaken for a stroke of deletion. At any rate this is Keller's explanation of corruptions in MSS. of Horace like *cesserat* for *concesserat*, written *ecesserat*, with line above the first *c* (*C.* i. 28. 13); *genio* for *ingenio* (*igenio*) (*C.* i. 27. 16); *visus* for *invisus* (*invisus*) (*C.* iii. 27. 71). And the "apex," the accent-stroke placed above a vowel to indicate length, especially in monosyllables such as *o* (e.g. *Asin.* 540 *B*), *prae*, *se*, *te*, *nos* etc., but also in the adverbs *illo* (e.g. *Amph.* 197, 203, *Capt.* 359, *Curc.* 340 *B*), *illa* etc., was occasionally mistaken for the contraction-sign: e.g. *furtis est* for *furti se* in *Poen.* 737; *mendato* for *me dato* in *Poen.* 159; *unam* for *una* adv. in *Amph.* 600.

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS

5. Here is a list of the commoner contractions found in minuscule MSS. of the eighth to the twelfth centuries. In each case, unless otherwise stated, a horizontal stroke would be written above the letter in MSS. Some examples of mistakes arising from the contractions are added:—

a (1) "aut," (2) "autem," later usually *au* or *aut*, (3) "an." Cf. *Amph.* 271 *acerto* (D) for *aut certo*.

aia "anima."

an "ante."

ap "apud."

c "con." Cf. *Trin.* 1148 *qui nunc laudo* (CD) for *quin conlaudo* (written with this contraction in *B*).

d (1) "deest," (2) "dicit" or "dixit," later *dt*, *dlt*, *dxt*, etc. So *dr* "dicitur," *dnr* "dicuntur." (3) "de."

ds "deus," often confused with *dns* "dominus."

e "est." Also "em," "et" (see below, and occasionally "esse"). Cf. *Pseud.* 87 *est si* for *etsi*; *Pseud.* 285 *jampridet* for *jampridem*.

ec "esse," *ect* "esset."

eccla "ecclesia."

epla "epistola."

eg "ergo," later usually *g*, as *g* was "igitur."

Confusion of *ego* and *ergo* is very common in MSS. (See Appendix A.) In *Mon.* 806 *investigo* has become *investisti ergo* (written with *g* and suprascript *o*) in one MS.

eps "episcopus."

fr "frater," often confused with *sr* "super."

gla "gloria."

gra "gratia." In *Truc.* 464 *agram* (*agrā* B) has become *egratio* in C.

h "haec," and occasionally "hoc."

h with suprascript *i*, "hic."

h with dot over shoulder of letter, "hoc."

hc "hunc."

ho "homo."

ht "habet," *hre* "habere."

In *Mon.* 452 *habere*, written *hare* in the archetype, has become *hac re*.

i with dot on both sides, "id est."

id (1) "idem"; (2) "id est."

it "item."

l "vel." Also *ul* (see below).

lib "liber."

m with suprascript *i*, "mihi."

m with suprascript *o*, "modo."

mr (1) "mater"; (2) "martyr."

ms "meus."

n with dot on each side, "enim." A variation of this sign, peculiar to Irish and Anglo-Saxon script, has often been misunderstood by copyists.

n with suprascript *c*, "nec."

n with suprascript *i*, "nisi."

n (1) "non," (2) "nam," and occasionally (3) "nunc," (4) "nomen." Cf. *Mil.* 1197 *nam* B, *non* CD.

In *Aul.* 711 *nam ego*, etc., *nam* had the variant *non* in the original of BDEJ; hence *nam ego non* BDEJ.

The omission of *non*, so important a word to the sense of a sentence, was from a scribe's point of view the mere omission of a single letter. *Truc.* 616 is a clear example of the omission of a negative:

si aequom facias aduētores meos <non> incuses, quorum
mihi dōna accepta et grāta habeo.

nc "nunc." Cf. *Trin.* 1148 *qui nunc laudo* (CD) for *quin conlaudo* (*quin claudio* with line above *c* B).

nmn or *nn*, occasionally *no* "nomen." So *noe* "nomine."
nr "noster." So *nri* "nostri," etc.

oia "omnia." So *oms* "omnes," *ois* or *omis* "omnis," etc.
omps "omnipotens."

p "prae."

p with horizontal stroke through lower part of straight line,
 "per," and occasionally "par."

p with loop through ditto, "pro."

p with suprascript *o* or *t*, or with shorthand sign for *us*, "post"
 (see above).

pbr "presbyter."

pp (1) "propter"; (2) "papa."

pr "pater."

In *Asin.* 812 *pater* was in the original of *EJ* written *par*, which
 has been corrected in *J* to *parens*.

pt "praeter."

q "quae."

q with stroke traversing the vertical line, (1) "quam"; (2)
 "qui." Sometimes an *i* is further written above to indicate
 "quid," for which word we find also the shaft of *q* prolonged
 upwards so as to make a monogram of *q* and *d*.

q followed by a comma, a point, a colon, or a semi-colon, "que."

q with suprascript *a*, "qua."

q with suprascript *o*, "quo."

q with suprascript *i*, "qui."

q followed by a sign like our numeral 2, "quia."

Of the confusion of *qui*, *quid*, *quia*, *qua*, *quam* examples are
Truc. 370; *Pseud.* 779, 1063.

qd "quod." Often confused with "quid" written *qid*.

qm "quoniam." Also *qn*, *qnm*, *quo*. Of the confusion of
 the words *quoniam*, *quando*, *quom* examples are *Aul.* 9, *Capt.* 496,
Men. 1151, *Cas.* 583, *Mil.* 1287, 1419, *Bacch.* 292 (cf. 304). (In *Mil.*
 839, where the line begins with *quoniam*, all the minuscule MSS.
 have the contraction *qm* with a stroke above; cf. *Bacch.* 290.)

qn "quando." Also *qdo*. (On the confusion of *quando* and
quoniam see above.)

s (1) "sunt," also *st*; (2) "sive," also *siu*, and occasionally *su*
 (like the contraction of "sum"); (3) "sanctus"; (4) "si"; (5)
 "sed."

In *Aul.* 354 *has sunt facturi* has become *has facturi*. Cf. *Men.*
 340 *sed qua* for *siqua*.

s followed by semi-colon, "sed."

s with suprascript *i*, (1) "sibi"; (2) occasionally "sicut."

scds "secundus," *scdm* "secundum."

ses "sanctus," *scm* "sanctum."

sic "sicut."

sps "spiritus," *spm* "spiritum."

sr "super," often confused with *fr* "frater."

ss (1) "suprascriptus," (2) "sancti" plur.

t "ter," in early MSS. also "tamen." Cf. Hor. *C.* i. 7. 22 *ter* for *tamen*.

t with suprascript *a*, "tra."

t with suprascript *i*, "tibi."

tm "tantum." Earlier also, "tamen."

In Nonius 172 M. 12 *Terrestriorum*, written in the archetype *terrestrinorum* with contraction of *ter* (see above), has become in the Leyden codex *tuicstrinorum*, corrected to *tamen terrestriorum*.

tn "tamen."

ts "tuus."

u (1) "ut," and occasionally (2) "vero," (3) "vel."

u with suprascript *o*, "vero."

u with suprascript *i*, "ubi."

ul "vel." Also *l*. The first sign is often miscopied "ut," the second (according to Wattenbach *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*¹ p. 74) "et." Cf. *Truc.* 246 *vi ut* for *velut*.

ur "vester."

Of shorthand syllabic signs may be noticed :—

Apostrophe-sign, "us." Hence *cui* for *cujus* in Hor. *C.* ii. 4. 14.

Reverted *c*-sign, "con." Also *c* with horizontal stroke above.

Sign like numeral 2, "ur."

7, "et." Also *ē* (see above).

÷, "est." Also *ē* (see above).

=, "esse." Also *ēē* (see above).

Horizontal stroke, "er" (see above on *per, ter*). Thus *ā* is "ver."

The sign for *m* has been already mentioned (p. 90). In early minuscule it often has an upright form that makes it like a suprascript *i*.

And of contractions of final syllables :—

r (or *rt*) with horizontal stroke above, "-runt."

r with sloping stroke intersecting the last part of the letter, "-rum." (An *n* with a similar stroke represents "-nus.")

b with horizontal stroke intersecting the shaft of the letter, "-bis." (A *d* with a similar stroke represents "-dit"; and in general this verbal ending "-it" is often represented by a mere contraction-stroke; e.g. *u* with a horizontal stroke above it means "-vit," as well as "ut," "vero," "vel," "ver," etc., as mentioned above.)

b followed by colon, "-bus."

6. The signs for Numerals¹ have been productive of many mistakes in MSS. Thus *DC* "six hundred"

Signs for Numerals.

¹ That is, the Roman numeral signs. The Arabic ciphers are unknown in all except the later MSS.

has been miscopied *de* in Livy xxvii. 28. 11, and *ad DC* has occasionally become *ad harr*; *ad IIII* has become *adivi* in Cicero *Att.* xv. 11; *III ante* has become *uti ante* in Velleius ii. 10. 2. Conversely, *vi* has been misinterpreted as *sex* in Cicero *Fam.* xv. 4. 9, and *ii* as *duo* in Cicero *Phil.* x. 7. 15.

For these and a number of other examples the student may consult Heraeus *Quaestiones de vet. codd. Livianis* p. 52.

A stroke was drawn above a numeral sign to indicate that it was a numeral sign. Thus *vi* without this stroke will mean "by violence," but with it "six." This stroke is often mistaken for the stroke drawn above to indicate thousands, so that in Cicero *Legg.* ii. 23. 58 we find *in duodecim milia* instead of *in duodecim* (sc. *tabulis*), and in Livy xxii. 60. 19 *sescentis* written in the original *DC* with a stroke above has been wrongly expanded to *sescenta milia*.

Bede complains of scribes' mistakes about numeral signs: *numeri . . negligenter describuntur et negligentius emendantur* (*Opp.* i. 149); and the author of the *Flores Temporum* (in Pertz xxiv. 231) appeals to the copyists of his work to be careful in this respect: *obsecro . . scriptores ut circa numeros annorum correcte scribendos adhibeant diligentiam propter Deum*; *alioquin ego in quantum ad homines in vacuum laboravi, et ignaviae meae imputabitur error librarii dormitantis*. The custom of writing the last unit of a number with a taller I than the others, e.g. xxviiI, may have had something to do with the frequent omission of the last unit in MSS. Thus the sign for "twenty-seven" is often miscopied as the sign for "twenty-six." The Merovingian practice of writing *vi* "six" in ligature, so that it was capable of being mistaken for *v*, may have led to the same mistake in subsequent copies. But the addition of an extra unit is also a common error in MSS. The Laurentian MS. of Nonius has miscopied the xviii of the Leyden MS. as xviii (Non. 113 M. 7).

(For a list of the more noteworthy contractions which seem to have stood in the archetype of our minuscule MSS. of Plautus, see Appendix A.)

The following passages seem to me capable of being emended on the supposition that contractions stood in the archetype for :

lenis: *Truc.* 776 sim lenis tranquillisque homo (similes t. h. *BCD*, sim mitis t. h. *edd.*)

(I prefer *lenis* to *mitis* because *lenis* is the word which Plautus elsewhere uses in combination with *tranquillus*: *Epid.* 562 animum lenem et tranquillum.)

omnis: *Aul.* 282 ut dispertirem hos omnis (u. d. obsonium *MSS.*)

non: *Cupt.* 104 Non ulla est spes juventutis: ses eomnis amant (Nulla est *MSS.*)

(For *non ulla* cf. *Merc.* 626.)

pro. Capital *P* with loop for *ro* has, I think, been mistaken for capital *D* in *Mil.* 823 :

prompsit nam nardini amphoram cellarius.

The archetype had *Promisit*, a common corruption of *Promsit* (cf. v. 829 promisi *D*¹ for prom(p)si, v. 841 promisit *BC* for prom(p)sit, v. 831 expromisi *C*, which has become in our *MSS.* *Domi sit*. The *suppromu*'s of the following line :

eho tú, sceleste, qui illi suppromá's ; eho,

argues for *prompsit*.

The preposition *per* seems to have been mistaken for the contraction of *pater* in the minuscule *MSS.* in *Stich.* 71 :

grátiam per sí petemus, spéro ab eo impetrássere,

where for *gratiam per* of *A* the minuscule *MSS.* have *gratiam a patre*, which is difficult to scan.

In *Truc.* 50 the puzzling *iteca* of *B* (changed to *ita et* in the original of *CD*) was, I take it, a contraction of *intercepta* in the archetype :

(res perit) *intercepta* in aedibus lenonis (lenoniis),

just as in v. 583 *accepta* was represented in the archetype by the contraction *aca* (so *B*) or *acca*.

APPENDIX A

THE ARCHETYPE OF THE PALATINE MSS. OF PLAUTUS

IF the account given on p. 7 of the mutual relationship of the Palatine or minuscule MSS. is correct, we may expect to find in the last twelve plays in the Codex Vetus (*B*) the best evidence about the form and writing of the immediate archetype of all the minuscule MSS. For this part of *B* seems to have been copied directly from that archetype, while all other MSS. and the first eight plays in *B* are copied from copies of the archetype, not from the archetype itself.

The size of the page in this archetype is indicated by a curious piece of conscientious copying on the part of the German monk, who was charged with the writing of a part of the *Poenulus* in *B*. In his anxiety not to omit a single word of his task he has copied in the margin the very headings of the pages at the place where they stood in his original. In the margin at vv. 1222-3 he writes *plauti*, at vv. 1255-6 *puenulus*, at vv. 1288-9 *plauti*, and again at vv. 1354-5 *plauti*, at v. 1385 *puenulus*. We can see that his original had at the top of each left-hand page *Plauti* and at the top of each right-hand page *Poenulus* (*Pen*-, *Paen*-), and that each page had some 33 lines of Plautus. The transposition in *B* of vv. 285-352 and of vv. 547-608 of this play, which follow respectively v. 217 and v. 479, is, as has been pointed out on p. 35, due to the transposition of the second and third sheets of a quaternion of the archetype. The second leaf of the quaternion contained vv. 218-284, the third vv. 285-352, the fourth and fifth vv. 353-479, the

sixth vv. 480-546, the seventh vv. 547-608. A similar size of page may be indicated for one of the first eight plays, the *Asinaria*, by the transposition of v. 51 to after v. 83, if the true account of the transposition be that the first line of the page, having been accidentally omitted, was afterwards added in the bottom margin.¹

Several
copyists.

That the archetype was the work of more than one copyist² may be proved, if proof be necessary, by the fact that the scribe of *B* leaves a blank space of four lines after *Merc.* 961, this line in the archetype being presumably the last line of the task of one of the copyists, who failed to cover completely the whole quaternion. The writing of two verses in the same line throughout a previous passage of the play (vv. 236-249) points to a scribe, either of the archetype itself or of its original, having been pressed for space at the end of his task. The numerous contractions of final syllables in the *Miles* and *Truculentus*—contractions which have caused great difficulty to the scribes of *B*, *C*, and *D* (e.g. *Truc.* 349 *confutaverim* edd., *confutaverunt* *B*, *confutaver* *CD*) with line above *r*; *Mil.* 543 *denum* *A*, *den* *CD*¹, *idem* *B*¹)—are probably the result of copyists having had to force an inconveniently large number of lines into the vellum allotted to them.

Headlines of
some pages.

We may infer from the presence of marginal additions or corrections (see above, p. 35) that various pages of the archetype (or its original) began at *Most.* 412, *Mil.* 1273 (or

¹ Notice that v. 40 came in the archetype between v. 55 and v. 56, so that this page would have 33 lines of the play.

² To determine where one copyist of an archetype ended and where another began, is seldom possible. Where it is possible, it is certainly worth doing; so great a difference of quality often exists between the work of one copyist and the work of another. The *B*-copyists of *Most.*, *Men.* 1-381, of *Men.* 381-fin., *Mil.*, *Merc.* 1-1013 are as bad as the copyists of the following plays are good. Their mistakes have fortunately been effaced by a corrector up to the middle of the *Miles*. But for the uncorrected portion, including the last half of the *Miles* and nearly the whole of the *Mercator*, the testimony of *B* is of very small repute—a fact not always realised by editors of Plautus. The deplorable state of the *Truculentus*-text in the archetype may be partly due to similar causes, either to the intervention of a new copyist, or the absence of a corrector, or both.

1274), *Men.* 475, 1029,¹ *Bacch.* 65 (the second page of this play in the archetype, if the play began at the head of a page, for the opening lines had been lost), *Most.* 550, *Poen.* 623 (?1382), *Trin.* 706; and either of the archetype or its copy at *Amph.* 161, *Capt.* 126. Apparently *Pseud.* 1162-1204 (42 verses, for vv. 1189-90 make only one verse) occupied one leaf of the proto-archetype (see p. 44).

If we look at the letters commonly confused in what were probably the three direct copies of the archetype: (1) *B* (last twelve plays); (2) the original of *CD* (last twelve plays); (3) the original of *BD* (first eight plays), we find some reason to believe that this archetype was written in early Caroline minuscule. Such a type of writing is indicated by confusions like:

u and *a*: *Poen.* 876 *mutae* edd., *mulae* B, *malae* CD.

Pseud. 334 *satias* A edd., *sacias* B, *satius* CD.

s and *f*: *Bacch.* 156 *fuam* BD² edd., *suam* CD¹.

n and *r*(?): *Mil.* 641 *amoenis* edd., *amenis* B, *amoris* CD.

i and *l*: *Mil.* 1189 *illam* AB, *nihil iam* CD.

Written in
early Caro-
line minus-
cules.

Superscript *a*, a feature of early minuscule, may be the origin of mistakes like *adabit* (original of CD) for *dabit* (AB) in *Mil.* 208; *adre* (original of CD) for *dare* (AB) in *Mil.* 71. Another feature of early minuscule, the ligature *ce*, has been over and over again mistaken by the copyists of the archetype for *et*, e.g. *Aul.* 766, *Capt.* 924. The ligature for *-nt* may conceivably have stood in *Merc.* 716 *delinquent* (*delinquon* B, *delinquent* C, *delinquunt* D).

Here is a list of some noteworthy contractions used in this early minuscule archetype, including a few more or less doubtful cases:

animus ani "animi": *Mil.* 1068 (*animi* CD edd., *amicam* B); cf. *Truc.* 525 (*anunt* BCD for *animum*).

bonus (see below on *probus*).

capio ca "capta," "-cepta": *Truc.* 583 *acceptaque* (*aeaque* B, *que* CD). (So in *Truc.* 50 the *itea* of B (*ita et* CD) seems to point to a contraction of *intercepta*, p. 99.)

cave ce "cave": *Mil.* 1335 *nauta, cave malum* (*naut ace malum* CD, *ad macellum* B).

Contrac-
tions.

¹ Between *Men.* 475 and 1029 come 554 verses and 11 scene-headings, making about 17 pages of 33 lines to each.

cum c "cum, con-": *Trin.* 1148 quin conlaudo (quin claudio *B* with stroke over c, qui nunc laudo *CD*); *Pseud.* 401 cum cepit *AB*, c cepit *D*, with stroke over first c, concepit *C*.

decem dec "decem": *Most.* 238 his decem (isdec *B*, isdem *CD*², is *D*¹).
do dt "dant": *Mil.* 711 dant (dus *B*¹, dent *CD*).

?*dominus* dno "domino": miswritten *dro* in *Men.* 443 qui domino me (quid rome *C*, quid romae *D*, quod romae *B*¹, quod pro me *B*²).

?*domus*: *Mil.* 1168 domum (damnum *BCD*).

dum d "dum": *Truc.* 843 dum (dem *B*, idem *CD*).

ergo, ego. Besides the common contraction of *ergo, ego*, viz. *g* with suprascript *o* (as in *B* in *Merc.* 960, *Mil.* 345, 1021, etc.), another with the letters *e* and *o*, standing both for *ego* and *ergo*, may be indicated by passages like *Aul.* 725 (*eo* for *ergo* !), *Men.* 821 nego (neo *B*, neq. *CD*). A contraction of *ergo* in early minuscule is *eg*, which may also have been the contraction which led to the common confusion of *ego* and *ergo* (e.g. *Bacch.* 499). The general resemblance of the two words is, however, sufficient of itself to cause confusion.

est e "est" (see p. 95): *Mil.* 724 usui est (uule *D*, om. *B*¹, uult *B*²*C*).

et & "et, -et-": *Men.* 449 dum hieto, Menacchmus (dumhi & omen aechmus *B*, du mihi & omenaechmus *CD*).

et e "et" (see p. 95): *Mil.* 736 eulpet (culpe *BC*, culpae *D*¹):
Pseud. 87, etsi (est si } *BCD*)
 ē si }

genu gea "genua": *Mil.* 542 tua genua (tuagea *BCD*).

habco hare "habere": *Men.* 452 habere (hac re *B*, hare *CD*).

homo: *Asin.* 717 olim, a miswriting of *homini*.

magnus mnum "magnum": *Trin.* 1062 damnum for *da magnum*; cf. *Truc.* 836 *quesomnem* for *quieso magnam* re (?) ; 57 *mina* for *magna* (?) (contraction-stroke mistaken for *i* ! cf. p. 97).

major mari "majori": *Truc.* 308 ero majori (ero amari *BCD*).

mater: *Merc.* 923 Mater (om. *C*, Mane *B*, mater *D*).

modus mo "modo": *Poen.* 926 quod modo (que domo *B*, quod homo *CD*). In *Stich.* 666, if quis homo donavit be the true reading, the quissomniavit of *BCD* may come from quissomnauit of the original.

multus mo "multo": *Amph.* 301 modum majorem for *multo majorem* (?).

{ non n } *Pseud.* 521 nam for non (?) ; 642 non for nam ; *Aul.* 711
 { nam n } nam (ve)l non.

?*planus*: *Mil.* 1018 planum (patrem *BCD*).

post p' "post": *Men.* 1117 (pus *B*¹, p' *B*², post *CD*). The same sign occurs, e.g., in *B* in *Mil.* 121, in *D* in *Mil.* 1418, 1426. It represents *pos* of *poscam* in *D* in *Mil.* 836.

per (see below).

?*pro*: *Mil.* 823, *D* for *Pro* (cf. p. 99).

probrum: *Truc.* 298 *præmium* for *probrum*; *Mil.* 423 *probrique*

(propinque *BCD*). In *Mil.* 396 probri (prout *B*¹, prodi *B*²*CD*) the archetype may have had *proui* for *probi* (so *A*).
probus: *Stich.* 436 probe (pro *B*, per *CD*); *Stich.* 617 condi probum *A ut vid.*, conspicor *BCD*; *Mil.* 918 pro for probe. In *Epid.* 107 (bono *A*, bono vel probō *BVEJ*), if there was a contraction, it was rather one of *bonus*. So in *Most.* 243, where the archetype had *jovi bo argento*, Schoell reads *probo*, but *bono* is also possible (cf. *Asin.* 734 minae bonae): Leo, however, adopts another emendation, *bovi*.

? *profecto*: *Pseud.* 256 *profecto* for *proh* or *oro*?

quae: *Pseud.* 939 *quae* (quan *B*, quam *CD*).

quam qua: *Mil.* 400 *quam* (quia *B*¹, quasi *B*²*CD*). (Stroke for *m* mistaken for *i* by *B*¹. Cf. p. 97. The word *simile* follows. Hence *quasi* of the other MSS.)

^u
quaque q āq (with cross-stroke through final *q*): *Pseud.* 279 *quaque* (quamquam *BC*, quāq *D*, with cross-stroke through final *q*).

que q. "que": *Pseud.* 613 *atque amant* (atqamant *B*, atque amant *CD*) (cf. *Pseud.* 328 *queam* for *quam*).

⁵⁹
qui: *Truc.* 73 } *nequi* (neq; *B*, neq' *CD*).

quia qa with suprascript *i*, "quia": *Truc.* 370 *quia* (quā *BCD*) (cf.

^a
Pseud. 779 *quia B*, q *D*, *qua C*).

quoniam: the common contraction *qm* is found in *BCD* in *Bacch.* 290, *Mil.* 839, and appears in one or more MSS. in *Mil.* 286 (*qm B*, quō *CD*); *Bacch.* 292 (*qm CD*, *qum B*); *Men.* 1151 (*qm BC*, quō *D*¹, *quoniam D*²).

^u
quum q m: in *Mil.* 1211, 1419 *B* has *qm* with stroke above, which should represent *quoniam*, *CD* have *cum*. The cause of the confusion may, however, have been the archaic form *quom*.

si s "si": *Men.* 340 *siqua* (sedqua *B*¹, si qua *B*², sed quia *CD*).

sic s "sic": *Merc.* 92 *isset* for *his sic*.

ⁱ
tibi t "tibi": *Mil.* 419 *tibi* (id *B*, tibi *CD*).

trans: *Mil.* 468 *trans* (tam *B*, trans *CD*).

vel vl "vel": *Mil.* 1187 *imponi velit* (imponunt *B*, impono *CD*);

Truc. 246 *vi ut* for *velut*.

usus uni "usui": *Mil.* 724 *usui est* (uule *D*, om. *B*¹, uult *B*²*C*). The uule of *D* is in the Renaissance copy *F* emended to *volupe*.

Of shorthand signs for syllables may be noticed :

Signs for
syllables.

r p with cross-stroke below, "per": *Truc.* 656 *piratus* for *per-iratus*.

or p "por": *Poen.* 456^a *picere* (*B*: *aspicere CD*) for *poricere*.

ra t with line above, "tra": *Most.* 675 *terno* for *Tranio*.

-unt r with tail intersected by stroke, "-runt": *Pers.* 437 (*BCD*).

Contractions by "suspension."

And of contractions by "suspension":

- r* with line above, "-rim": *Truc.* 349 confutaverim (confutaverunt *B*, confutaver *CD*, with line above *r*).
 "-re": *Mil.* 394 conprecare (conprecarint *L*¹, conprecare *B*², conprecare *CD*).
 "-ror": *Mil.* 403 arbitror (arbitri *B*¹, arbitraris *B*²*CD*).
s with line above, "se": *Mil.* 385 devortisse (devortis *B*¹, devorti sunt *B*², divorti sunt *CD*).
p with line above, "-pit": *Trin.* 993 accepi te macto (accepemacto *BCD*, with line above *p*).
 ? *i* "-it": *Truc.* 321 *convenire* for *convenit*; 647 *advenis i* for *advenit si*. Perhaps the contraction was *n* with line above.
 "-iat": *Pseud.* 1061 veniat (venitat *B*, ventrem *C*¹, ventre *C*², venire *D*).
 "-iet": *Truc.* 366 fiet ne (fine *BCD*).
m with line above, "-mum": *Mil.* 543 demum (dem *CD*¹, idem *B*¹).
d with line above, "-do": *Mil.* 617 cedo (cedent *B*¹, ted *B*², te *CD*).
ā "-ant": *Mil.* 715 munerant (munera *BCD*); *Mil.* 836 potitant (potaitam *CD*, potatam *B*; cf. however p. 86).
e with line above, "-eit": *Truc.* 555 facit (fac *B*, with line above *e*, facit *D*, facta *C*) (cf. *Truc.* 854 sap "sapit" *B*, with line above *p*).

Other features of the archetype.

They are, as has been seen, especially frequent in the *Miles* and *Truculentus* (p. 102 above).

Other features of the writing of the archetype may have been these:—

Marginal glosses were possibly indicated in the archetype (or the proto-archetype?) by a line above the glossed word, a line which has been mistaken for the sign of a contraction in *Pseud.* 659, where *diobolia r-* is written for *doliarem*.

The presence of Greek characters is shown clearly, e.g., in *Pseud.* 712 ποιω (πολω *B*, noLω *CD*); but ραὶ γὰρ of *Bacch.* 1162 must have been written *neque*, as it is in *BCD*, for *B* has a marginal conjecture *ne carpe*. In *Pseud.* 484 καὶ τοῦτο was written first in Latin, then in Greek form (see above, p. 61).

The "daseia" (p. 36), often found in our existing MSS. of Plautus, was probably a feature of the archetype too. How often the omission of an initial *h* in our MSS. is due to the

Late Latin spelling or to a neglect of this "daseia" in the original, is impossible to determine.

The two opening words of the *Menaechmi* were in uncials in the archetype, as they are in *B*, for they have a line to themselves in *C*; and the same practice may have extended to other beginnings of plays or scenes.

On the use of capitals at the beginning of lines cf. p. 99 (on the corruption *D* for *Pro* in *Mil.* 824), pp. 85, 86.

The "apex" over a long monosyllable has led to a corruption in *Amph.* 632 (*ret* for *re*), and I think in *Poen.* 737, where the archetype seems to have had *furti se* (*furtis est B*¹, *f. es B*², *furtis es C*¹, *furtis e C*²*D*², *furtis e D*¹). In *Poen.* 159 *mé dato* of the archetype has become *mendato*.

Of the absence of proper separation of words and of the attachment of prepositions and other small words to neighbouring words, examples have been given on pp. 3, 16.

It is more important to determine another feature of the archetype, namely its retention of archaic words and forms. We may safely infer on *a priori* grounds that a great number of archaisms existed in the archetype which have been modernised in all the copies, without leaving a trace of the older form, and that in the archetype itself a number of archaisms had disappeared which existed in its own original.¹ It is as a rule at the beginning of his task that a copyist most faithfully reproduces what is before him; and when we find in the *Bacchides* in *B* such archaic forms as *istoc* 43, *vostrust* 50, *opticuisti* 62, *cefferi* 95, *quoi* 126, *racivom* 154, *fuam* 156, *quoiquam* 225, *med* 357 (cf. 61), *disrumpit* 441, *creduas* 476, *ipsus* 478, *equum* 488, *surrupiam* 507, *semul* 576, *quoi* 617, *immersti* 677, *possem* 762, *huser* 787, *pacisce* 871, *cefertur* 1058, we may conclude that we get in this opening play of the direct copy of the archetype a glimpse at the forms actually found in that archetype in other plays as well as the *Bacchides*. For every one instance of an archaism

Its retention of archaic forms.

¹ The change of *isti* to *istic* in *Most.* 721^a seems to have been made in the original of the minuscule archetype; for the words *jam istic ero* were not rightly divided in that archetype.

preserved by a lucky chance in the copies, e.g. *Men.* 942 *teſſe* (*te deſſe* B¹) (cf. *Asin.* 299), we may be ſure that there was a ſcore of inſtances in the original. Sometimes the moderniſing proceſs would be facilitated by the fact that the word in the archetype had a gloss written above it or in the margin, as in *Capt.* 380 *rebitus* [*re*] *l redeas* B *mg*).

But uſually the archaic form would be changed by the copyiſt himſelf without any guidance from his original. Corruptions like *perditum ſit* (BD ; *perditum fit* C) for *perditum ſe it*, *Truc.* 559, ſhow us that the copyiſts were in the habit of writing *i* for an *ei* of the original, and that in addition to the caſes where a trace of the older ſpelling has been preſerved (e.g. *Mil.* 1085 *abeis* B, *abis* CD), there muſt have been a large number of caſes where all trace has diſappeared. The change of the future to the preſent of *dico* in *Pſeud.* 1323 (*deices* B, *dicis* CD) ſuggests the ſame of the archaic ſpelling *e* for *i* (cf. *Mil.* 1141, 1161 *facite* for *facete* ; *Mil.* 1206 *ſinite* for *sine te*). The conſideration of lines like *Men.* 317 (*illoc* B, *illo* CD), *Merc.* 570 (*illuc* B, *illo* CD), *Merc.* 128 (*illuc* C, *illud* BD), *Mil.* 1210 (*iſtuc* B, *iſtud* CD), ſhows us how wrong it is to infer from the agreement of our MSS. that the archetype had, e.g., *illo* for *illoc* in *Poen.* 1061, *illic* for *illi* in *Pſeud.* 758, *iſtic* for *iſti* in *Pers.* 405, etc. etc. On the contrary, when we compare the number of archaic forms preſerved in *B* with the ſcantier number preſerved in *CD*, we are forced to conclude that the number of archaiſms in the archetype muſt have conſiderably exceeded the number preſerved or indicated by the copies.

In how many inſtances *b* and *v*, *d* and *t* were interchanged by the copyiſts we can only gueſs from relics of the archetype's ſpelling like *curavit* for *curabit* *Amph.* 487, *ludificavit* for *ludificabit* *Amph.* 1041, *quidre* for *qui tuce* *Truc.* 355, where the ſcribes' miſapprehenſion has ſaved them from change.

That *es* of the archetype was tacitly changed to *e* we ſee from *Truc.* 530 *œuri* for *es Suria*. For *œnum factum* (*Merc.* 578) the archetype had *œnum factum* ; and this *œ* was corrected by the copyiſts to *u* (*unum factum* C, *unum factum* B, *unam factam* D), a correction doubtleſs made in many other

lines where all means of detecting the older spelling are lost (cf. *Truc.* 103 *oenus* B, *unus* CD; and with *o* for *oe* *Truc.* 310 *rem cogi* for *rem cogit*, *moniendis* for *mouendiis*).

Of Corrections and Variae Lectiones in the archetype we have traces like the following:

Poen. 897 (the words *quanti? Duodeviginti minis* seem to have been written in this, the correct, form over the same words in an incorrect form in the archetype).

dupli: *Poen.* 184 *dupli* (*dupli* B, *duplici* CD).

mea istacc: *Pseud.* 362 *mea ista* (*mg.* *ce*) (*meaec ista* B, *mea ec ista* D¹, *mea ec ista* D²).

iam: *Pseud.* 1125 *tam* (*tam* B, *tam etiam* CD).

versicapillus: *Pers.* 230 *versipellis* (*capillus versipellis* BCD).

me mel meum: *Truc.* 528 *me in meum* (*me imme inmeum* B, *me inme inmeum* CD).

impoti: *Trin.* 131 *ampoti* (*ampoti* [ve]l *impoti* B, *iampoti* CD). (An "O. Lat. *ampos*" is quite unlikely.)

tu tristis: *Men.* 810 *tutrix*, *mg.* *tristis* (*tutrix* B, *tristis* B *mg.* *tis* *tutrix* C, *tutrix* D with dot under *x*).

telinum, v.l. *bdellium*. *Curc.* 101.

edi: *Anl.* 537 *edi* (*di* *audivi* B¹ I¹, *edi id* [est] *audivi* B², *audivi* JV²).

haud: *Bacch.* 344 *aut* (*aut* B, *haud* B *mg.*, *haud* CD).

suo: *Bacch.* 503 *meo*, *mg.* *suo* (*suo meo* BCD).

citentur: *Men.* 454 *citentur* (*citenetur* CD, *cintetur* B¹).

in: *Mil.* 652 *meo* (*meo* B, *min* CD).

audin: *Mil.* 1313 *audistis* (*audistis in* B, *audistin* CD).

APPEN

SPECIMEN OF CRITICAL

Plautus *Captivi* 251-269 :—

251. HEG. jam ego revertar intro, si ex his quae volo exquisivero (am ego *D*, Nam ego *F*; que volo *BDJ*; exquisi vero *J*).
252. ubi sunt isti quos ante aedis jussi produci foras (edis *BDE*, aedes *J*. The MSS. put *foras* at the beginning of the next line).
253. PHIL. edepol tibi ne in quaestione essemus cautum intellego (*om.* in *B¹DEIJ*, *add.* *B²*; questione *BDIJ*, questionem *E*; chautum *B¹DEV*, cautum *B²J*).
254. ita vinclis custodiisque circum moeniti sumus (vinculis *B*; custodiis que *B*, custodiisque *E*; moenitis *E*, muniti *F*).
255. HEG. qui cavet ne decipiatur vix cavet cum etiam cavet (me *J*).

DIX B

APPARATUS WITH REMARKS

(Read pp. 6-8 on the relationship of the MSS. of Plautus.)

251. The initial letter, left by *D* for the "rubricator" to fill in, has been wrongly supplied in the Renaissance copy *F* (see ch. iii. § 13). In the original *quae* was miswritten *que* whether in full (ch. v. § 9) or in contraction (ch. vii. § 5). *J* has wrongly divided *exquisivero* into two words (ch. i. § 4).
252. The misspelling of the original *adis* (ch. v. § 9, p. 70) has been emended, not altogether satisfactorily, in *J*.
253. The archetype (whence the corrector of *B* took the correction, p. 41) had *iquestione*, and this was copied *questione* in the original of *BD*, etc. (ch. i. § 4), but in *E* from confused notions of grammar was put in the accusative (ch. i. § 9). The curious misspelling *chautum* is preserved with remarkable fidelity. The corrector of *B* emends it (ch. i. § 3) on his own authority, not on the authority of the archetype.
254. *custodiisque* is wrongly divided into *custodiis quae* (spelt *que*) in *B*, and into *custodi isque* in *E* (ch. i. § 4). The *moenitis sumus* for *moeniti sumus* of *E* is a common case of dittography (ch. iv. § 4). Notice the modernised spelling *muniti* of the Renaissance MS.
255. *J* carelessly substitutes *me* for *ne* (ch. v. § 12).

256. etiam cum cavisse ratus est, saepe is cautor captus est
(sepe MSS.)
257. an vero non justa causa est ut vos servem sedulo (servet
B¹DEV¹, servem *B²V²J*).
258. quos tam grandi sim mercatus praesenti pecunia (grandis
immercatus *BD*, grandis immercatus *EV¹*, grandi
sim mercatus *V²J*; presenti *BDV* *corr.*, presentia
EV¹J).
259. PHIL. neque pol tibi nos, quia nos servas, aequomst
vitio vortere (equom stulecio *BJ*, [ve]l stulte *B marg.*,
equom stultio *EV¹J*, ecum *V²*, equum stulticie *F*;
vertere *EVJ*).
260. neque te nobis si abeamus hinc, si fuat occasio (habea-
mus *EV*).
261. HEG. ut vos hic itidem illic apud vos meus servatur
filius (apud *BJ*; me *D*).

256. There is a small blank space at the beginning of the line in *B* and *D*, due apparently to the fact that the archetype had the *et* of *etiam* expressed by the ligature (ch. vi. § 1), so that the line seemed to lack an initial letter. The word is written with the ligature in *B*.
257. The archetype had *seruē*, and in the original this contraction *ē* was wrongly expanded (ch. vii. § 2).
258. The words of the proto-archetype GRANDISIMMERCATVS were wrongly broken up in the archetype and in the original into *grandis immercatus*, which in the original of *EVJ* were written *grandis imercatus*. In the same original *presenti* was carelessly furnished with the ending of *pecunia* (ch. i. § 10).
259. The AEQVOMSTVITIO (-CIO) of the proto-archetype was misread as *aequomstultio* (-cio) (ch. vi. § 1), and wrongly written *equom stulcio* (ch. v. § 9) in the archetype or in the original. This “vox nihili” *stulcio* is wrongly emended on the margin of *B* and in the text of the Renaissance MS. *F* (ch. i. § 1). The archaism *vortere* was “modernised” in the original of *EVJ* (ch. i. § 7), while the archaism *aequomst* for *aequom est* has been accidentally preserved in all MSS. (ch. i. §§ 1-2). The word *equom* (for *aequom*) was absurdly connected with *equus*, “a horse,” by the corrector of *V* and the scribe of *F*.
260. On the confusion of *abeo* and *habeo* see ch. v. § 9.
 Notice the preservation in all MSS. of the archaism *fuat*, which in other passages is usually changed to *fiat*, etc. (ch. v. § 7).
261. The spelling of the archetype *aput* is preserved unchanged in two MSS. (ch. i. § 7). The *me* for *meus* of *D* is due to the omission of the shorthand sign for *us* (ch. vii. § 1). Whether Plautus wrote *illi* or *illic* is uncertain (ch. i. § 7).

262. PHIL. captus est? HEG. ita. PHIL. non igitur nos soli ignavi fuimus (ignari *B¹DEV*, igitari *J*).
263. HEG. secede huc: † nam sunt, quae ex te solo scitari volo (solio *J*; stitari *DVE*).
264. quarum rerum te falsilocum mihi esse nolo. PHIL. non ero (rerum te *ex* te rerum *E*; falsu locum *ex* falsū locum *E*; falsi locum *V¹*; michi *J*; volo *V¹*, nolo *V²*).
265. quod sciam: si quid nescivi, id nescium tradam tibi (si q[uo]d *E*, id quod *J*).
266. nunc senex est in tostrina, nunc jam cultros attinet (bitostrina *B¹DDEV¹*, intostrina *B²V²*, intonstrina *J*; attinet *VJ*).
267. ne id quidem: involuere micere, voluit, vestem ut ne inquinet (ne inquinet *ex* ne quinet *D*; involvere *F*).

262. *ignari* was substituted for the similar word *ignavi* (ch. v) in the original. *J* may have mistaken the *n* of its original for *it* (ch. vi), but more probably left the miswriting *igit-* for *ign-* (due to the preceding *igitur*) uncorrected (ch. iv. § 3).
263. A syllable is lacking for the metre. If the corruption is due to the omission of a small word unimportant to the sense of the sentence (ch. iii. § 6), the true reading may be *secede huc tu*, or else *quae ego ex te*. If the omission was a case of haplography (ch. iii. § 1), it may be *secede huc nunc* or *solo solus* (omitting *nam*). But the simplest correction is the transposition (ch. ii. § 1) of *quae* and *ex te*. The *solio* of *J* is a careless substitution (ch. v). In the original *se* was probably written in a ligature resembling the ligature *st*.
264. The scribe of *E* at first transposed *verum* and *te* (ch. ii. § 1), and wrongly emended the *falsi locum* of his original into *falsum locum* (ch. i. § 10). *michi* of *J* is a common mediaeval spelling. Cf. *nichil* for *nihil*. The scribe of *V* substituted *volo* for *nolo*, a frequent confusion in MSS. (ch. v. § 12).
265. The *quid* of the original, probably written in contraction (as *quod* is in *E*), has been mistaken for *quod* (ch. vii. § 5). *J* has a wrong emendation (pp. 25 sq.)
266. In the archetype or the original the preposition *in* was written, as it usually was in early minuscule, with the "tall" form of *i* (ch. vi. § 1), a manner of writing which makes the word often look like *hi* or *bi*. The archaic spelling *tostr-* (cf. *mostrum*, whence *Mostellaria*, for *monstrum*) has been preserved, thanks to the corruption of *in*, which prevented scribes from recognising the word.
267. The scribe of *D* at first misread *in* as *m* (ch. vi. § 1). The Renaissance scribe, not understanding the Plautine *involucre* (a by-form of *involucrum*), emends it in Renaissance fashion (ch. i. § 1).

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268. sed utrum strictimne adtonsurum dicam esse an per
pectinem (strictim ne *B¹DEVJ*; attonsurum *JF*;
petinem *B¹DEV*).
269. nescio: verum si frugist usque admutilabit probe
(frugiest *JF*; admutila labit *B*, ad mutilalabit *EV*,
admutalabit *D*, admutilabit *J*; prope *B¹*, probae *V*).

268. The scribe of the archetype did not recognise the *ne* of *strictimne* as the enclitic particle. The *petinem* (*pettinem*) of the archetype exhibits the Late Latin spelling *-tt-* for *-ct-* (ch. v. § 9). It is corrected in *B* and *J*, but was left in the other MSS., perhaps through a vague connexion of *perpet-* with *perpetuus*.
269. The dittography of *lu* in the original has been rightly emended in *J*. The confusion of *prope* and *probe* is common (ch. v. § 12), and the interchange of *e* and *a* a universal practice in mediaeval as well as in early MSS. (ch. v. § 9).

APPENDIX C

HOW TO COLLATE A LATIN MS

By "collating" a MS. we mean comparing it with the received text of an author and taking note of the points in which it differs from that received text. The first thing we must do then when we take a MS. to collate is to get a copy of that critical edition of the author which is provided with the best and fullest critical apparatus. Suppose, for example, we have a MS. of Martial to collate : we must use Schneidevin's critical edition of Martial to compare it with ; for a MS. of Terence we must use Umpfenbach ; and so on, always taking care to state at the outset of our collation with what edition (giving the name, place, and date of the book) we are collating our MS. We set ourselves then to compare line by line, word by word, letter by letter the MS. before us with the printed edition of the author. Wherever we come upon something in the MS. different from what is in the printed edition, we write down side by side in parallel columns the reading of the printed edition and the reading of the MS. We shall find it most convenient to put the readings of the printed edition in the first or left-hand column on our page, and the readings of the MS. in the second column, the column to the right of it : for by so doing we shall be able to collate other MSS. of the same author on the same paper by merely putting additional columns to the right ; and so we shall come to have on the same pages a conspectus of the readings of a number of MSS. of the same author side by side. For the same reason it is

best to use the broad side of the page for writing on, so as to have room for as many additional columns, and so for the collation of as many additional MSS., as possible.

We shall have then in the first or left-hand column the readings of the received text from which any of the collated MSS. diverge, and in the columns to the right the divergent readings of the various MSS. And of course we shall have to give the reference to these words or lines that we take note of as being different in the received text and in the MSS. we have collated, so as to be able to find them when we wish to consult them in the printed edition or in any of the MSS. The reference to the reading of the printed book will be given in the ordinary way, *e.g.* Martial bk. xiv, epigr. i, v. 1 (Mart. xiv. 1. 1); but we cannot give a reference of this kind to the reading in the MSS., because the epigrams and lines there are not numbered as they are in our modern printed editions. We give the whereabouts of a word or sentence in a MS. in a different way, viz. by giving the number of the page on which it is found. Or rather to be strictly accurate I should substitute the word leaf, or its Latin equivalent "folium," for page; for in a MS. we do not number the pages but the leaves, and what would be in a printed book pages 1 and 2 will be in a MS. leaf one, or "folium primum." Page 1 is the obverse side of leaf one, and is technically known as "folium primum rectum." Page 2, the reverse side, is technically known as "folium primum versum"; page 3 in the same way will be "folium secundum rectum," page 4, "folium secundum versum"; and for shortness' sake we shall write them "fol. 1 r," "fol. 1 v," "fol. 2 r," "fol. 2 v," and so on. A word then which occurs on the third page of a MS. will be referred to "fol. 2 r."

But further, the page or side of a leaf in a MS. is very often written in two columns; so we shall want to state in our reference in which column the word occurs, and we shall have to add to our "fol. 2 r" something to show whether it is in the first or the second column of "fol. 2 r." The neatest notation for the columns is by the Greek letters α and β . If our reading then be in the first column on

the page we shall give the reference to it in the form "fol. 2 r a," and we shall put this reference on the right of the column in which the readings of the MS. are given, and the reference to the reading in the printed edition on the left of the left-hand column, so as to allow the two contrasted readings to come as close as possible, that the eye may note their divergence at a glance.

This that I have described is the full style of collating a MS. Of course in most cases a much less troublesome plan will serve, viz. to jot down on the margin of our printed edition the readings of the MS. we are collating. But if we do this, unless the margin is a very wide one, it will be difficult to use the same book for the collation of more than one MS.; and it will be difficult to keep the readings of one MS. distinct from those of another, unless we write the readings of one MS. in black ink, of another in red ink, of another in purple ink, and so on; so that it may really involve as much trouble in the long run as the more detailed method of collation. Besides one has not room on the margin of a printed book to write remarks about the readings in the MS., such as whether they are written by the writer of the MS., or by some one who revised it afterwards, or by some one into whose hands it came at a much later time; and this is a thing of the utmost importance, and indeed is what makes the chief difficulty in collating a MS. accurately.

Our first object in collating a MS. is to take note of what was actually written by the writer of the MS. But in almost every MS. we look at we find this has been made more or less difficult by the fact that there are readings given in the margin or written above the words in the text in different ink—I mean less faded—and in different handwriting from that of the text. These have been added by various owners of the MS. at various periods who found lines here and there unintelligible or ungrammatical, and corrected them according to their own fancy or according to the text of some other MS. of the author that they managed to get a sight of, just as people nowadays have a habit of correcting errors of printing in any book they happen to be

reading. Now such variants as are mere conjectural emendations of Renaissance owners have as a rule little interest for us. We might omit to notice them altogether; but it will be safer, if we wish to make a complete collation, to give them within brackets and with a note of their being due to some one much later in date than the writer of the MS. If the reading is in the margin, we shall put this note in the form *rec. in marg.*, that is "recent or by a later hand in the margin"; if it is written above the word in the text, we shall write *rec. sup. ser.*; if, as is the commonest case, it is written on the word in the text, if the word in the text has been by a line here and a curve there corrected or transformed into the new reading, so as to make it often difficult to find out what the original reading was, we shall say *corr. rec.*, that is "corrected by a recent hand."

Such corrections of a manifestly much later date than the MS. itself have little interest for us, unless they let us know the readings of another MS. which the owner of our MS. had, but which has now been lost. But we very often find corrections which are patently not so recent but of the same date, or nearly of the same date, as the MS.; and these are of great importance, for they must have been made by the copyist of the MS. himself or by some one who revised and corrected the MS. immediately or very soon after it was copied. When we are quite sure the correction has been made by the copyist himself, in other words, when it is merely a correction of a slip of the pen, it is unnecessary to notice the original reading, unless we are making an extremely accurate collation; for our real aim is to find out what was in the MS. which the scribe copied; and it is usually needless to make record of the fact that our scribe in a moment of forgetfulness wrote "at" instead of "et," if the next moment he saw his error and amended it by correcting the "a" into an "e." But where the correction is or may possibly be by a different person, of the same or not a manifestly much later date than the date of the MS., we must notice it; for it has probably been made by some one who compared the copy which the scribe had made with the original, and corrected it here and there where the

scribe had departed from the original (cf. p. 41). Whenever there is a possibility of a correction being of this kind we shall record it with the word *corr.* before it; and after we have collated the whole MS. we shall generally find ourselves able to tell what value these corrections as a whole have, and how they came to be there.

There is one kind of correction that we cannot date, and that is an erasure. We can tell by the look of the ink in an ordinary correction whether the writing is old or recent, but we cannot tell by the look of scraped vellum whether the erasure was made on the one hand by the copyist or a contemporary, or on the other by a later owner of the MS. And still worse, we can with a little patience disengage the original reading where a word has been rewritten, but we can only rarely and with a great straining of our eyes read a word that has been erased, especially if a new word has been written in the space occupied by the erased one. An erasure then is a thing that must always be taken note of, and in collating a MS. our eyes must explore the vellum surface as well as the writing; for a scrape on the vellum means that there once was writing there. If we are fortunate enough to find out by the help of a magnifying glass what the erased letter or word was, we shall put it down as the reading of the MS., and add the emended form of the word after the note *corr., ras.* (i.e. *rasurā*); if we cannot, we must take note of the fact that there is a trace of a lost letter or word, and we must indicate the position of this erasure by stating what written word or letter it comes before or after. Thus if *demo* were corrected by the erasure of *m* into *deo*, and if the *m* could not be read, we must indicate the fact that only one letter has been erased, and that before the letter *o*, by putting one asterisk to represent the erased letter, thus *de*o*. Lastly, if a word or letter has been erased and the space has not been left vacant, but a new word or letter has been written on it, we shall give as the reading of the MS. this new word or letter, adding *in ras.*, i.e. "standing upon or written over an erasure"; and if the new word or letter is plainly by a later hand, we shall say *rec. in ras.*

Where we are able to refer the various readings or correc-

tions to distinct hands we should specify this by putting *manus prima* (shorter *m.*¹) for the work of the scribe himself, *manus secunda* (*m.*²), *manus tertia* (*m.*³), and so on for the several correctors; but it is not always possible, nor indeed always necessary, to make these distinctions.

What sort then of divergences from the received text should be noticed? Are we in a Latin MS., *e.g.*, to notice such a thing as “*quanquam*” instead of “*quonquam*,” “*coena*” instead of “*cena*,” etc.? In most cases, unless the MS. is of such an age that its spellings have some authority, and unless our collation is to be an extremely minute one, there is no need for burdening ourselves with a mass of useless details like that. Only we must state at the outset of our collation exactly what divergences of reading we do not profess to take note of. In most Latin MSS., for example, we need not record such divergences as *h* omitted or inserted; *uu* and *uo*; *e* and *ae*; *c*, *p*, *t* for *ch*, *ph*, *th*; *y* and *i*; *ti* and *ci*; *f* and *ph*; *c* and *qu*; *oe* and *e* or *ae*; the separation or fusion of words, *e.g.* *sed et* for *sedet* or *sedet for sed et*; capitals and small letters; *-is* and *-es* in the plural; *-em* and *-en* in acc. sing. of Greek names; *quidquid* and *quicquid*; *quanquam* and *quonquam*; and so on, because they do not really testify to the spellings of the original from which our MS. was copied. Although the copyist saw *quanquam* in the MS. before him, it is quite possible that he might prefer to write *quonquam*, or *febus* instead of *Phoebus*. But it is inadvisable to lay down any general rule as to what divergences are not worth noting. That is a question to be decided according to the character of the MS., the state of the text of the author, the aim of our collation, and other considerations. The one essential thing is that we state clearly at the outset what variants our collation does not profess to take notice of.

It remains to mention some other formulae that we want, such as *om.* when a word or line has been omitted, *his* when it has been repeated by mistake, *transp.* when the order of two words or lines has been transposed. The rest can easily be picked up from any critical edition of a classical author. Without wasting time on enumerating them all, I shall pass on to what is more important, *viz.* the way to describe a

MS.; for at the outset of our collation we must give an account of the MS. we are collating. If there is a catalogue of MSS. in the library, one may copy the description given of the MS. there; if not, one must make the description for oneself, and in this way. First we give the title, home, and press-mark of the MS., *e.g.* Codex Martialis Oxonii in bibliothecâ Bodleianâ Add. MSS. 12345. Then must follow an account of the material of which the MS. is composed, whether vellum (*membran.*) or paper (*chart.*), of its size, whether folio, quarto, or octavo, of its date, of the no. of its leaves, and of its state of preservation. Thus: codex chart(aceus) in iv^{to} majori, saec. xi. in(euntis), foll. 100, piet(uris) orn(atus), mut(ilus). Then an account of its contents: continet Martialis Epigrammatum libros i-x, xii-xiv; desunt lib. xi et Spectacula. So much is absolutely necessary, and we may add any details about the MS. that we think should be mentioned.

The thing to be remembered in our description of the MS. and in all our collation is that our aim must be to find out the readings and the character of the original MS. from which our MS. was copied. The textual emendation of an author becomes a hopeful thing as soon as we are able to classify the MSS. of the author, to say that so many have all been copied from one archetype, so many from another, so many from a third, and so on; when we can reduce the host of existing MSS. of the author to two or three groups, and determine from the readings of the individual MSS. the text of the two or three archetypes from which they have all come. The number of fifteenth-century MSS. of our author may appear unwieldy at first, but it is possible in time so to manipulate them as to elicit from them the readings of, let us say, three ninth-century MSS. which have been lost to us, but which we can reconstruct, as it were, can put together piece by piece, from the traces which the later MSS. supply. And that is where the advantage appears of minute collation, of noting each and every divergence or peculiarity of a MS. In tracing the pedigree of a MS. these minutiae are extremely helpful. The mere similarity of text is not sufficient of itself to enable us to tell that one MS. has been copied from

another. But if a peculiarity in the reading of one can be explained from some little accidental circumstance of another, such as the cases mentioned on p. 65, we have tangible proof of the connexion of the two. The safest rule to follow in collating a MS. is therefore to take note of as much as our time will permit, to deem unworthy of notice as little as possible. The fact that a scribe first wrote *at*, then immediately corrected it to *et* (p. 122 above) may, for example, indicate some peculiarity of his original, whether that the form of its *a* was like an *e*, or that it had *at* corrected in the margin or elsewhere to *et*, or that its reading was *at*, while *et* is an emendation due to the scribe of the copy. It may equally be due to a mere clerical error that has no such significance.

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